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The Nation

August 17/24, 1985 $1.25; U.K. 65p

K.A.L. 007

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

A year ago, on the first anniversary of the destruction of K.A.L. Flight 007, David Pearson raised a set of serious questions about what the U.S. government knew about the tragedy and when it knew it. Working from the public record, he concluded that either "the elaborate and complex system of intelligence, warnings and security that the United States has built up over decades suffered an unprecedented mind-boggling breakdown" or once again the American people were victims of a high-level government cover-up. Either way, an exhaustive investigation by a duly authorized committee of Congress, armed with the power of subpoena, was warranted.

Instead of responding to Pearson's questions, the Administration evaded them, denouncing the article as "pure baloney." It referred skeptics to a report by the International Civil Aviation Organization, which it called "authoritative."

Now, as we approach the second anniversary of the tragedy, Pearson and his colleague John Keppel inventory new evidence which casts further doubt on the official version of what happened to K.A.L. 007 on the night of August 31, 1983. For example, they analyze recently released Japan Defense Agency radar data showing the airliner's altitude and speed over Sakhalin Island to be in-

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LETTERS.

TRASHING 'THE PROGRESSIVE'

Madison, Wis.

Sooner or later, Alexander Cockburn was bound to get around to trashing *The Progressive* ["Beat the Devil," July 20/27]. Our magazine is, after all, a publication of the left which generally shares Cockburn's political perspective, and he is one of those strange birds that take special pleasure in fouling their own nests.

But one aspect of our politics that is clearly at odds with Cockburn's is our total commitment to *everyone's* freedom of speech. While Cockburn is a great believer in his own freedom of speech, he can't imagine why we would want to support anyone else's, so he dismisses our position as "ritual blather" and "pious self-deception."

Cockburn has every right, of course, to devise his own rituals and pursue his own pieties in the fulminatory fashion many readers have come to admire. He's way off base, however, when he accuses us of "opportunism and petty greed" because we accepted and ran an advertisement placed by an antiabortion group. Opportunism and greed would, on the contrary, dictate that we practice the kind of censorship Cockburn so fervently espouses, and thereby refrain from offending those readers and contributors who can't bear to see an opposing view in print.

Unfortunately, the totalitarian mindset isn't confined to the right. It has its ardent devotees on our side, too. *Erwin Knoll*
Editor, The Progressive

COCKBURN REPLIES

New York City

After a decade of indifference from Knoll toward my occasional plaudits for articles in his magazine, I see that I have finally gained his attention, even though it takes the form of chagrin that I, a fellow leftist, should dare express opinions at variance with his.

Once again he tries to obscure the argument with posturing nonsense about freedom of speech. We are talking about an advertisement. The "right" to free speech of Feminists for Life of America, the antiabortion outfit which bought space in his pages, would not have been traduced if *The Progressive* had turned down its ad, any more than would Mobil's if *The New York Times* threw that company's ads off its Op-Ed page.

Knoll's talk of totalitarianism is preposterous. Does he really think he is guilty of this crime every time he rejects a manuscript or when he refuses to publish dissent from his own employees? One such employee, Eric Parker, writes to me that Knoll "refuses to publish letters by staff members wishing to express perspectives dissenting from those of the editorial staff." If the advertising pages of *The Progressive* began to resemble those of *Soldier of Fortune*, Knoll would soon take a different attitude toward the rights of those wishing to buy space in his magazine, however much he may now, in perfect safety, insist to the contrary. *Alexander Cockburn*

BACK TO THE FUTURE

Pacific Palisades, Calif.

In his June 29 article in *The Nation*, "Road Map for the Peace Movement," Michael T. Klare says his "interim strategy" is a distillation of "conversations with many people at peace conferences, rallies and demonstrations across the country." Is this the way to map a strategy? This was not how the freeze idea was launched. Just say you've polled the peace movement, Klare, and are trying to keep everybody happy.

The only thing wrong with the narrow, single-issue, freeze-as-a-first-step approach is the present failure of nerve and patience on the part of the freeze leaders. Along with Klare, they are chickening out on a still-achievable task in order to "project an aura of hope and unity" through networking with every do-gooder organization under the sun—for projects that are almost as far beyond present possibility as the sudden outbreak of universal love and the golden rule.

Let's get back to the hard-nosed freeze, and do the nuts-and-bolts education necessary to lock voters into an idea that had such instant appeal that 70 to 80 percent of them went for it at first sight. *Harold Waterhouse*

A 'GREEN' PEACE

Raleigh, N.C.

I wish Michael T. Klare had mentioned the natural affinity between the peace movement and the environmental/bioregional movement. The bioregional movement sees the ongoing assault on the earth's air, water, soil, forests and species as the most severe war of all, and says that man must also learn to make peace with the earth. Man cannot flourish unless the whole of the life community flourishes. In the long run, the condition of the earth controls the condition of the entire life process. A diminished earth means a diminished mankind and a diminished everything.

In its political expression, bioregionalism embraces "green" politics, which calls for ecological wisdom, grass-roots democracy, social responsibility and nonviolence. Here is the point where the peace movement and environmentalism meet, and where a joint strategy for facing the future can be articulated. They need each other and they seem to know it. You run into the same people in both movements. But they have not yet got it together. Klare could help, it seems to me, and I hope that he can see it that way. *James F. Berry*

KLARE REPLIES

Berkeley, Calif.

My intention in proposing a *strategy* for the peace movement was precisely to encourage realistic, long-range strategic thinking in a community that is more accustomed to thinking in terms of short-term goals and crises or in utopian schemes. Both short-term activities and utopian planning are still needed, of course; but what we need most at this point is some perspective on how we can overcome the powerful obstacles to peace and disarmament.

Concentrating on the freeze alone will not prevent a bloody conflict in Central America or the Middle East, which could easily escalate into something much worse. Nor will it succeed in winning the freeze itself, since Congress and the public are quite prepared to approve new nuclear weapons in the deluded belief that they will enhance "deterrence" and spur progress toward arms control. Only by educating the public thoroughly about the "deadly connection" between intervention and nuclear war, and about the false logic of nuclear deterrence, can we hope to achieve genuine victories in the struggle for peace.

In moving forward, moreover, we must convince Americans that nuclear disarmament will produce a better, safer world. Bioregionalism, with its emphasis on preserving the wondrous, life-sustaining quality of the earth we inhabit, can play an important role in this regard. *Michael T. Klare*

DANTO'S PARADISO

Staten Island, N.Y.

Even in a magazine as compact and tightly edited as *The Nation*, the material in "the back of the book" is often overlooked by readers. I just want to go on record with the opinion that Arthur C. Danto is one of the very best art critics currently working in America. I've never met him, indeed know nothing about him except what I glean from the writing. His lucidity is unflagging, his range remarkable. Few writers can move so confidently from a hermeneutically informed discussion of drawing which brings that form's physical, tactile premises lovingly alive ["Art," April 13] to a metacritical analysis of the flap over Richard Serra's "Tilted Arc" [June 22]. In the latter essay, Danto asked all the right questions, laying out the issues with such clarity that the piece could be used as the outline for the public debate it solicits on this thorny subject. Danto's closely reasoned position will not endear him to what Terry Allen calls "the art mob," but he's an oasis of cogency in a desert of obfuscation. *A.D. Coleman*

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Drawings by Robert Grossman
Graphics by Virginia Simon

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Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Christopher Bille, Carl Gottesman; *Nation Associates,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1985 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Office*: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington DC 20002 (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $40; two years, $72; six months, $20. Add $7 per year for postage in Canada, Mexico; $13 per year for other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publications date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

K.A.L. 007

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

consistent with what the crew was reporting to Tokyo air traffic controllers. The data are also inconsistent with the "navigational error" scenarios advanced off the record by government officials and circulated by various commentators to explain K.A.L. 007's mysterious path.

In a companion article, David Corn reports on the intimidation and the weird array of official obstacles used to discourage research into the case and shows why the I.C.A.O. report itself is inconclusive.

Taken together, these articles suggest that the real mystery is why Congress has held back from a full and formal inquiry into this bizarre and tragic episode. If Pearson and Keppel are right and the plane approached sensitive Soviet military installations deliberately, then Congress ought to ask some obvious questions: Was Flight 007 on an intelligence mission? If so, what was the nature of the mission? Who planned it? Were the pilots aware of it? Why was a civilian airliner used? Was the U.S. government involved? The intelligence committees of the Senate and House of Representatives maintain that they have examined accusations concerning U.S. com-

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plicity. Yet their investigations, hidden behind a cloak of official secrecy, appear to have been pro forma. The questions above have yet to be fully addressed by that branch of our government charged with monitoring the executive.

But let us assume that our worst suspicions turn out to be unfounded: that, instead, the pilots were asleep or trying to save fuel or playing daredevil or working for Korean intelligence or on what lawyers call a "frolic and detour"; that the plane's sophisticated inertial navigation system was down; or that Murray Sayle had it right in *The New York Review of Books* when he outlined a scenario in which a single misset switch was responsible for the airliner's deviation (see David Pearson's reply in that magazine in early September). Let us assume, in other words, that K.A.L. 007 was on no U.S. or U.S.-inspired spy mission. Let us assume further that all the withholding of information, obfuscation and ad hominem attacks on the government critics as "conspiracy theorists" are simply the bunglings of the Federal bureaucracy, reminiscent of the Soviet Union's own pitiful attempt at public relations in the immediate aftermath of the disaster. Would that mean that Congress was justified in not spending taxpayer dollars and its own valuable time on a full-fledged investigation?

Not at all. On the contrary, as James Bamford, author of *The Puzzle Palace*, a book about the National Security Agency, pointed out recently in the *Los Angeles Times Book Review*, an N.S.A. listening post on the Aleutian island of Shemya almost certainly "would have eavesdropped on the Soviet radar stations tracking the wayward airliner as it strayed into Soviet airspace." Bamford also stated that several other N.S.A. operations may have tracked Flight 007 and could have sent a high-priority message to Washington. Is Bamford right? Did U.S. intelligence monitor the flight? If so, why didn't it warn Flight 007? Was our government risking lives for the intelligence bonanza that might come its way if the airliner activated Soviet radar and other facilities that U.S. listening posts monitor? Or, less conspiratorially, did some colonel, lieutenant or private first class simply not think that a stray aircraft over sensitive Soviet territory was worth mentioning to his superiors?

President Reagan went on television on September 5, 1983, to denounce the Russians for murdering "hundreds of innocent men, women, children and babies." Did he know then that the Russians thought they were shooting down a spy plane? Was the Administration scoring cold war points? Torpedoing arms control talks? Securing the deployment of the Euromissiles? Winning political support for the MX missile? Setting the stage for the upcoming Presidential election? Was the President demagogically distorting the truth about what the Russians knew and when they knew it? At the same time, was he diverting attention from what we knew and when we knew it? Surely, Congress, as surrogate for the people, has an interest in the answers to these questions.

Finally, Congress should consider this: How many tens of billions of dollars have the superpowers spent on their respective electronic defense systems, on early warning systems, on global surveillance, on satellites, on electronic countermeasures and counter-countermeasures, on strategic command and control systems? Are we getting our money's worth? The Administration maintains that its intelligence apparatus in the Far East is not geared to a crisis of the Flight 007-type and thus did not monitor the trespass and downing as they occurred. It does admit that U.S. intelligence detected an increase in Soviet air defense activity that night but misinterpreted it as a drill. Shouldn't an effective system be able to distinguish between a training exercise and the real thing?

How can it be that with all these billions of dollars invested, the Russians could confuse a civilian airliner with an RC-135 spy plane and have such trouble tracking it? How can it be that the Americans did not pick up on what was happening and take action to warn a non-Soviet craft over Soviet territory? Given that the flight time of an intercontinental ballistic missile is an all-too-brief thirty minutes, what are the implications of these failures for the survival of the planet? Does the new agreement to set up telephone links between air traffic controllers in the United States, Japan and the Soviet Union address all the profound problems raised by Flight 007?

The Nation has been urging the U.S. press to pursue this story. So far, the most productive reporting has come from abroad: from Thames Television, *The Guardian* and the *New Statesman* in Britain; *Der Spiegel* in West Germany; and several major newspapers in Japan. We do not underestimate the difficulties that face the press in investigating Flight 007. Cold war mythology surrounds the case. Government officials and employees are afraid to talk to reporters. The costs of conducting an international and highly technical investigation are steep. And the risks can be great. In Britain, for example, *The Guardian*, Thames Television and *Defence Attaché* have all been sued by Korean Air Lines. The *Defence Attaché* case, stemming from an article that speculated the flight was on a spy mission coordinated with U.S. satellites and the space shuttle, was settled before trial, presumably because the small magazine could not afford to defend itself. But both Thames Television and *The Guardian*, much larger organizations, intend to fight their suits.

Despite these problems, it is critical that the press persist and thereby put pressure on Congress. We continue to believe that the best way of finding the truth about how K.A.L. 007 came to be over Soviet territory, about the nature and dimensions of any cover-up and about the implications of the downing is through a full, formal and open Congressional investigation. The ramifications of what occurred on the night of August 31, 1983, are wide-ranging and fall within the purview of several committees, including Senate Foreign Relations, House Foreign Affairs, Senate and House Armed Services, Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation, House Public Works and Transportation, and, of course, the two intelligence committees, if they would like to try again. Until some government body conducts a comprehensive public inquiry—using its critical subpoena power to uncover the truth—the tragedy of K.A.L. 007 will continue to haunt us.

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Cuba Libre

Havana

In their heart of hearts, Latin Americans across the political map, from Shining Path to capitalist road, know that Fidel Castro did it, defended it and made it work, at least as well as could be expected under the circumstances. Cuba's declaration of independence from North American power did not bring the country economic abundance, social harmony or national self-sufficiency, but it created an absolutely necessary condition for development according to the needs and means of Cuba's people. With few exceptions, the rest of the region, from the Rio Grande to Patagonia and from Grenada to Panama, must limit and condition its political identity and economic policies upon the demands of U.S. banks, the transnational corporations, global loan sharks and Washington. Latin America is in debt up to its ears, not only in traditional monetary terms but in military, political and ideological currency as well, and the great creditor in the White House is entitled to collect both interest and principal on all accounts.

Castro's achievement gives him a decided moral advantage in Latin affairs, and he used it with considerable skill in organizing the Conference on Foreign Debt just concluded here. Except for Nicaragua, represented by one Vice President (Sergio Ramírez) and one Sandinista *comandante* (Jaime Wheelock), no country sent a high-ranking official delegation. But almost every continental and Caribbean nation was represented at the base if not at the top, and that, after all, was Castro's idea: to mobilize opinion and consolidate political power where it counts. Radio Martí, the Reagan Administration's propaganda channel, told Cuba all week that the conference was a failure because of the absence of heads of state, and North American correspondents, as usual tuned to the official U.S. wavelength, repeated the charge, adding the criticism that no specific economic policies or political decisions were adopted. But this was a meeting to raise consciousness and set an agenda, not to plot strategy or develop techniques contra the debt. Much more has to happen before the debtor nations can rise as one against the *Yanqui* banks. The crisis will deepen, the alternatives will fail, the rigors of indebtedness, underdevelopment and dependency will become more oppressive. There will be time enough for Radio Martí to reflect on the meaning of this extraordinary gathering and see that what mattered most was mobilization.

The scene in the sprawling new convention palace on the shore west of Havana should have been enough to worry a few bankers and politicians just ninety miles away. Hundreds of delegates trooped to the rostrum to denounce the outstanding debt (exceeding $360 billion for Latin America alone), attack U.S. (and occasionally Soviet) military expenditures and express at least rhetorical solidarity in support of a new economic order.

There were former presidents, vice presidents, prime ministers and cabinet members; Catholics and Protestants, clergymen and -women; feminists, capitalists, guerrillas, generals, admirals and Gabriel García Márquez; a Christian Democrat from Chile and a Quechua peasant woman from Peru. There was Michael Manley from Jamaica, Juan Bosch from the Dominican Republic and Hortensia Allende from Chilean exile. A radical economist from Mexico recited tables of statistics, a labor leader from the Bolivian tin mines shouted for a revolution, a conservative businessman from Venezuela read newspaper editorials he wrote five years ago and a Colombian revolutionary spoke from his wheelchair. His legs had been blown off by bombs thrown by soldiers then under the command of a previous speaker. Through it all, Castro sat at the center of the long dais; he lounged, applauded, laughed, took notes and never left the hall.

The range of politics was possible because the debt crisis touches so many sectors of Latin society. Loans that were pushed on Third World countries by bankers with bulging coffers—and pulled in by governments and private companies too eager to develop and expand—are now life-threatening. Simply to service the debts, those countries have to use up many of their export dollars and get yet another I.M.F. loan, which invariably comes tangled in strings: demands for austerity, lowered wages for workers and the integration of national economies into the international system led by and for the United States.

It may be a long time before a Latin "debtors' club" challenges this system, although the partial renunciation plan announced at the beginning of the week by Peru's new President, Alan García, sent a *frisson* of rebellion through the conference and hinted that the end was near. But it's hard to see that the crisis can be alleviated without profound economic rearrangements, and the political realignments they entail. What Castro understood when he called the continent to Havana was that those changes have just begun. The conference was a short scene in a long act of independence, and the whole drama of poor against rich, South against North, and worlds against worlds is only about to unfold.

ANDREW KOPKIND

SOLIDARITY AWARD

Western protests against human rights violations do matter. That is the resounding theme of a report by Rose Styron of her visit to Poland last March as a representative of the international writers' organization PEN, which will publish the document later this month. Three Solidarity leaders with whom Styron and novelist Kurt Vonnegut talked expressed gratitude to Western groups that protested against the government's crackdown on the union. They proposed that organizations committed to social justice and workers' rights bestow an annual Solidarity Prize on groups or individuals working for those causes. Such an award would give Solidarity a sense of contact with the outside world. Styron says several organizations in the United States are acting on the idea.

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

The History of Hot Air

When future students of propaganda turn to the last half of our long-suffering century they will almost certainly perceive the years from 1975 to 1985 as a decade when no lie was too preposterous, no allegation too bizarre for the conservative disinformation mills and their clients in the mass media. But it's been clear for about a year that the Reagan propaganda offensive is in increasing disarray. In some cases the "evidence" could no longer satisfy even the lax standards of reporters from the networks and mainstream press. This is what happened in the case of yellow rain and may soon happen in that of the Cuba-Nicaragua "drug connection." On June 7, *The Miami Herald* ran an Associated Press story datelined Madrid which reported that two Colombians arrested in southern Spain at the request of the United States had complained to judicial authorities that soon after they were picked up, "a Spanish police officer and a member of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration offered to protect them from extradition to the United States if they cooperated with the U.S. investigation and implicated Nicaragua in drug dealing."

The "investigation" involved a claim by the D.E.A. last July that Frederico Vaughan, an aide to Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomás Borge, had supervised cocaine shipments to and from Nicaragua, in cooperation with a Colombian smuggling ring that included Borge and Luis Ochoa, one of the men arrested in Spain.

The C.I.A.'s Master Plan

June was a bad month for Reaganite disinformation because the Colombians made their embarrassing claims while the trial of Mehmet Ali Agca and the accompanying commotion in Italy were raising unwelcome suspicions about Agca's coaching by agents from Italian military intelligence, themselves associated with Michael Ledeen and kindred artificers of the Reaganite view of terrorism. That view is best expressed in Claire Sterling's book *The Terror Network* and Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss's novel, *The Spike*.

It would not be unfair to say that these two volumes prompted the vision of the Soviet Union espoused by Reagan and his first Secretary of State, Alexander Haig. The central proposition was that the Soviet Union, through the Fifth Directorate of the K.G.B., was coordinating all terror and subversion against the Free World and, through agents-in-place in the media of the advanced capitalist countries, was successfully waging a disinformation war, whose chief victims were the newspaper-reading and television-watching citizens of the United States.

The origin of this fantasy is instructive, because it neatly illustrates the essence of successful disinformation (and of all successful rumor), which is that it is self-perpetuating and closed-ended, immune to all rules of evidence and refutation.

Among those who fled Czechoslovakia during the Prague Spring of 1968 was a hard-line officer named Maj. Gen. Jan Sejna. Sejna went west in March 1968 and was soon in America earning a living by being debriefed by the C.I.A. After a few years of disclosures from Sejna, agency case officers began to surmise that he was telling more than he knew. Their suspicions were aroused when Sejna claimed that the K.G.B. had sleeper saboteurs all over Europe and were capable of detonating infernal devices in the London underground at any moment. The C.I.A. men then prepared a test. They showed Sejna a document outlining the Fifth Directorate's master plan for world domination and disinformation (which I will hereafter refer to as M.P.W.D.D.) and asked Sejna to verify its authenticity. Sejna said, Yes, indeed, it's all true, how funny that it slipped my mind, etc. The C.I.A. men didn't say anything, but since they had concocted the document, they soon eased Sejna off the payroll.

This was by no means the end of the master plan; indeed, its active service was only just beginning. Sejna went to Europe and started to talk to intelligence services and other interested parties about the plan the C.I.A. men had shown him, saying that the agency had evidence that the K.G.B. was linked to the Baader-Meinhof Gang, the Italian Red Brigades, the Japanese Red Army and so forth. The French and Italian intelligence agencies further disseminated the C.I.A. fantasy, and in the course of its peregrinations it reached Claire Sterling. Blended in with disinformation from the Mossad and other agencies it seems to have reached Arnaud de Borchgrave too.

In the climactic chapter of his career at *Newsweek* in 1978, de Borchgrave rushed back to New York from Europe on the Concorde and brandished under the nose of the magazine's editor, Ed Kosner, his great scoop about the K.G.B.'s M.P.W.D.D. Kosner brooded over the story for a while and then asked de Borchgrave to refund the price of the Concorde ticket. De Borchgrave departed from *Newsweek* not long thereafter, following negotiations which, it was hoped, would deter him from claiming that by its act of suppression *Newsweek* had revealed itself as an active component in the M.P.W.D.D. Last January, responding in *The Washington Times* to a critical review of a novel by his friend Robert Moss (by John Podhoretz of all people), de Borchgrave wrote:

> As *Newsweek*'s chief foreign correspondent I had a number of major exclusive stories about Soviet activities that were spiked by ideologically-motivated editors. The most important of these was a secret French intelligence report dated May 11, 1978, documenting in great detail links between the K.G.B. and its proxy services, on the one hand, and international terrorist groups on the other.

When Alexander Haig became Secretary of State he remarked to his subordinates that the reports of K.G.B. activities he was reading from the C.I.A. and State Department intelligence were markedly inferior to the revelations of Sterling. With a certain amount of hemming and hawing,

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

the intelligence officials told Haig that it seemed likely that *The Terror Network* may have owed something to a document concocted by the C.I.A. to test the veracity of General Sejna.

While de Borchgrave and Moss were busily turning an M.P.W.D.D. to profitable account in *The Spike*, and Sterling was promulgating her Network, Ledeen, another high roller of the Reagan years, was commissioned by SISMI, Italian military intelligence, to do some papers on international terrorism [see "Beat the Devil," July 6/13].

In the July 10-23 issue of *In These Times*, that newspaper's European correspondent, Diana Johnstone, using testimony given to the commission investigating the Italian P-2 scandal, described how SISMI's head, Gen. Guiseppe Santovito, had bought two Ledeen papers on "international terrorism" and passed them along to the Italian government as the fruits of SISMI's own investigations. These studies, in SISMI regalia, were then leaked, and "right-wing journalists . . . [including, Johnstone suggests, Claire Sterling] could point to them as confirmation from 'Italian intelligence sources' of their worst suspicions about Soviet support of terrorism."

Ledeen was named though not charged in the indictment of SISMI officials for crimes including the leaking of such documents, and two weeks ago Santovito's deputy Pietro Musumeci was convicted in this matter. In two extremely interesting articles in *The Wall Street Journal* on August 7 and 8, Jonathan Kwitny discussed the deeds and connections of SISMI agent Francesco Pazienza—charged, *inter alia*, with framing the left for the crimes of the right—and showed how both de Borchgrave and Ledeen depended on him for information. Sterling denied to Kwitny Pazienza's detailed recollection of an encounter, though she did admit to having met General Santovito. Ledeen also conceded to Kwitny that a consulting firm he owned "may" have got $100,000 from SISMI in 1980 or 1981. As the Agca trial lurches on, it is increasingly clear that the "terror network" was essentially the rumor mill of a few Western propagandists talking to one another about a fantasy concocted by the C.I.A.

Apartheid Alliance

The present clamor over economic relations between the United States and South Africa has spilled over into the fraught and delicate matter of economic relations between South Africa and Israel. In an editorial fairly typical of centerthink on this matter, *The Boston Globe* for July 11 lamented the use of apartheid and refugees as "propaganda by Soviet-bloc nations and their Third World allies." The editorial added:

> Israel's trade with South Africa, often cited as "proof" of that country's racism, is minuscule, according to B'nai B'rith. The total accounts for 1.5 percent of South Africa's total—far less than South Africa's trade with Arab and other African countries that are accusing Israel of racism.

The only trouble with B'nai B'rith's figures is that they are wrong. They exclude the handsome contributions arms and diamonds make to Israel and South Africa's trade. Anyone wanting a clearer picture than that provided by B'nai B'rith should get hold of the June issue of Jane Hunter's excellent monthly research report, *Israeli Foreign Affairs*. Meanwhile, here are some of the data.

In the International Monetary Fund's 1984 yearbook, the Direction of Trade statistics show $69 million worth of declared Israeli exports to South Africa in 1983. This does not include the value of Israel's arms exports, which came to about $1 billion worldwide and of which South Africa accounted for about one-third. In a paper prepared for the Jaffe Institute for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University, Aharon Klieman estimates that Israel's annual arms sales to South Africa amount to $350 million. If we add that to the $69 million from I.M.F. figures, we get a total of $419 million as the value of Israel's exports to South Africa in 1983. That extremely low estimate is more than what South Africa takes from all the nations on the African continent combined.

Another way of looking at the trade relationship is to examine what South Africa sells to Israel. In 1984 Israel informed a House Ways and Means subcommittee that it earned $1 billion from the export of diamonds the previous year. Israel buys all its diamonds from the Central Selling Organization, which is the DeBeers front in London. Of this total, 25 percent is value added in Israel, which leaves us with South African earnings from the sale of diamonds to Israel in 1983 of $750 million.

Add to that figure $142 million of I.M.F.-reported South African exports to Israel and we get a grand total of $892 million. That outstrips the value of South African exports to France ($353 million), to West Germany ($703 million) and to all the other nations on the Continent, whose imports from South Africa are worth $769 million.

Those figures on Israeli-South African trade exclude a good deal, such as remittances sent home by the Israelis who are technical advisers to South Africa on its nuclear programs and on military, intelligence and security matters. They exclude revenue to South Africa from licensing fees on military equipment used by the Israel Defense Forces. They also exclude the economic consequences of Israel and South Africa's joint investments, whereby Israel serves as an entrepôt for South African exports to the European Common Market, which if they originated in South Africa might be affected by embargoes, and to the United States, with which Israel has unique free-trade agreements. Israel has been marketing South African produce abroad for a long time, since the two countries' economies complement each other. A joint Israeli-South African steel company in Israel manufactures tin cans; thus every Israeli product in such containers entering the United States is packed in metal that began its processed life as iron ore mined by black South African labor.

Footnote: *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, which deals with Israel's activities outside the Middle East, particularly in Central America, is available for $2 from 5825 Telegraph Avenue #34, Oakland, CA 94609.

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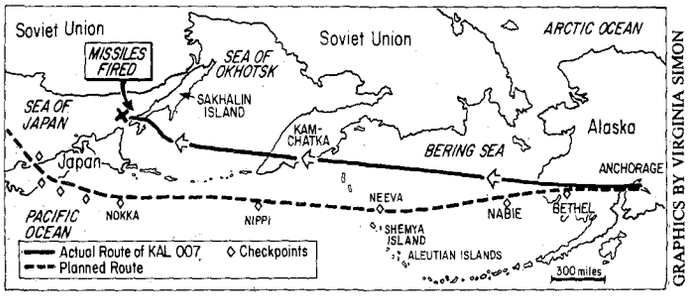
ARTICLES.

JOURNEY INTO DOUBT

New Pieces in The Puzzle of Flight 007

DAVID PEARSON AND JOHN KEPPEL

A year has passed since *The Nation*'s special issue on the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, and the most important questions about the tragedy remain unanswered. How did the airliner get to the spot over Soviet territory where it was shot down on the night of August 31, 1983? What was it doing there? What did the U.S. government know and when did it know it?



Reconstruction by David Pearson and John Keppel, based on U.S. and Japanese radar data and other material in the public record.

In recent months, however, new information has come out that sheds some light on these issues. Most notably, the Japanese government has made public radar data that directly contradict the Reagan Administration's official version of events leading to the downing. Other material already in the public record—including the tape of the final transmission recorded by Tokyo air traffic controllers thirty-eight seconds after the airliner was hit by one or more Soviet missiles—has also been subjected to state-of-the-art technical analysis, the results of which are reported here for the first time. If the new evidence is accurate, the following can now be demonstrated:

§ That K.A.L. 007 changed altitude and speed as it entered and flew over Sakhalin Island in Soviet territory, without reporting to Tokyo air traffic controllers as required under international aviation procedures.

David Pearson, a doctoral candidate in sociology at Yale University, is working on a book about K.A.L. 007. John Keppel, a retired U.S. Foreign Service officer with two tours of duty in Moscow, took part in the abortive cover-up of the U-2 flight in 1960. *The authors acknowledge the role of the Fund for Constitutional Government in financing the ongoing acoustic study of the communications tapes.*

§ That near the end of the flight, Tokyo air traffic controllers received reports, ostensibly from K.A.L. 007, about an altitude change by the airliner that never took place.

§ That the airliner changed course over Sakhalin Island without reporting to Tokyo air traffic controllers.

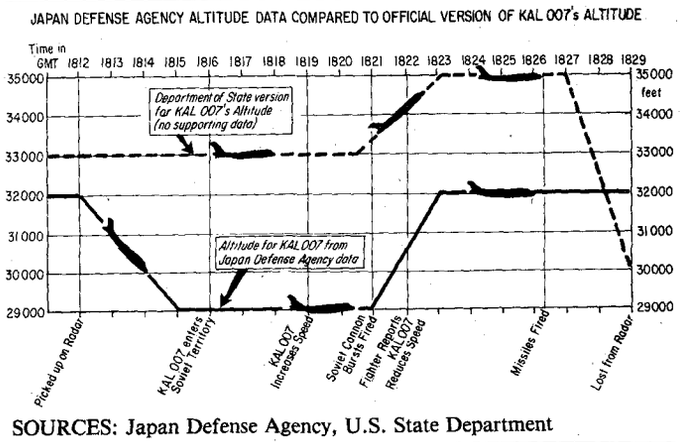
§ That early in the flight K.A.L. 007 must have made an unreported turn to the north toward Soviet territory.

§ That the tape of the airliner's final radio transmission says something quite different from what the International Civil Aviation Organization (I.C.A.O.) claimed it said in a report that U.S. officials have heralded as "authoritative."

The new information, some of which has received extensive attention in the international press, has disturbing implications. It shows that the crew of the Korean airliner could not have accidentally or unknowingly flown its dangerous course over the Soviet Union's Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin Island. This means that the official U.S. government and I.C.A.O. explanations of the tragedy—that K.A.L. 007 innocently flew over Soviet territory as a result of some navigational error—are not credible. It also strongly suggests that the Reagan Administration, which had its own information and must have had access to that of the Japanese military at the time of the incident or soon afterward, has covered up vital evidence about the downing.

The New Japanese Radar Data

The most dramatic advance in the case during the past year was the release of altitude and speed data from the Japan Defense Agency (J.D.A.). These data show that at 1815 Greenwich mean time (G.M.T.), almost precisely the moment K.A.L. 007 entered Soviet territory over Sakhalin, it descended from an altitude of approximately 32,000 feet to approximately 29,000 feet. The airliner was supposed to have been flying at its assigned altitude of 33,000 feet. It increased speed as a Soviet SU-15 interceptor aircraft closed in. After the Soviet pilot fired tracer rounds as a warning signal, the airliner ascended 3,000 feet, and in the final moments before the fatal missile was fired, the J.D.A. data suggest, the pilot of K.A.L. 007 once again increased speed (see chart below).


JAPAN DEFENSE AGENCY ALTITUDE DATA COMPARED TO OFFICIAL VERSION OF KAL 007's ALTITUDE
Time in GMT
1812 1813 1814 1815 1816 1817 1818 1819 1820 1821 1822 1823 1824 1825 1826 1827 1828 1829
35000 34000 33000 32000 31000 30000 29000
feet
Department of State version for KAL 007's Altitude (no supporting data)
Altitude for KAL 007 from Japan Defense Agency data
Picked up on Radar
KAL 007 enters Soviet Territory
KAL 007 increases Speed
Soviet Cannon Bursts Fired
Fighter Reports KAL 007 Reduces Speed
Missiles Fired
Lost from Radar

SOURCES: Japan Defense Agency, U.S. State Department

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For obvious safety reasons, all changes in altitude and speed are supposed to be reported to air traffic controllers, but the airliner's pilot did not do this. On the contrary, at 1815 G.M.T., Tokyo air traffic controllers received a calm-voiced radio transmission, ostensibly from Flight 007, requesting permission to ascend to 35,000 feet. Five minutes later, Tokyo called back granting permission. Three minutes after that, another calm-voiced transmission reported to Tokyo that the airliner had reached the new altitude. Yet, according to the radar data, the ascent to 35,000 feet never took place. Instead, it was during the time between these transmissions that the Soviet interceptor fired cannon bursts and overran the Korean airliner. Why did the two calm-voiced transmissions fail to report the airliner's actual altitude changes or the grim reality that the plane was being intercepted? Was the crew deliberately sending false reports to Tokyo? Or might the transmissions not have come from K.A.L. 007 at all? Tapes of the transmissions, withheld for nearly two years and finally released in July by the J.D.A., may provide some answers once they are analyzed.

Meanwhile, however, the J.D.A. data suggest that K.A.L. 007's pilots were aware of the airliner's position on approach to Sakhalin, that they knew shortly thereafter that they had been intercepted by Soviet aircraft, that they took evasive action rather than comply with warnings as is called for in international aviation agreements and that Tokyo air traffic controllers were deliberately deceived about what was happening. All this stands in direct contradiction to both the I.C.A.O. and U.S. government accounts, which say that the airliner's crew, unaware of its position, maintained assigned altitude until the plane was shot down. (Neither account mentions changes in speed.)

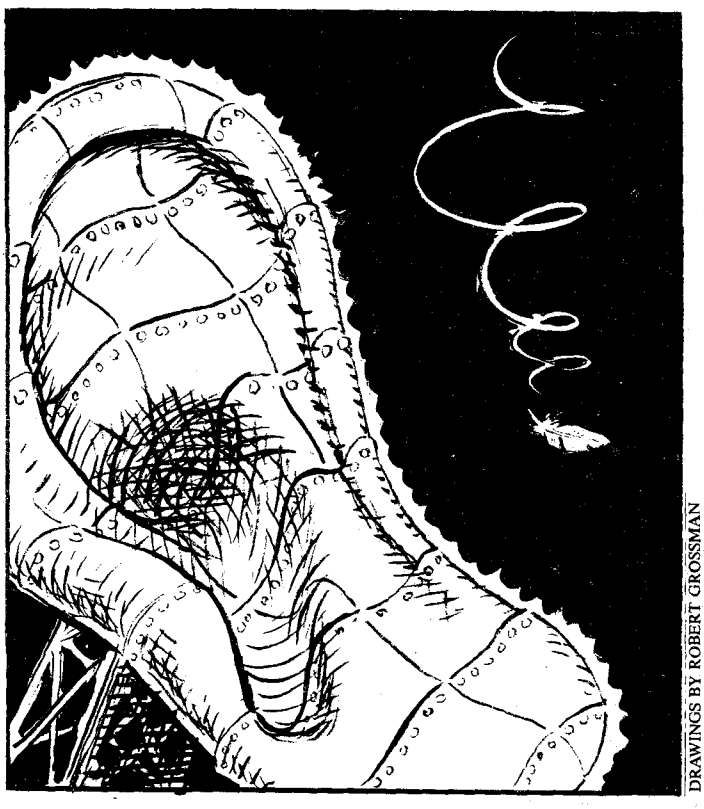
The release of the radar data, informally in March and then formally in May by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone to a member of the Diet, made front-page news in Japan. In the United States, by contrast, the story was picked up by only some of the major media and was given cursory coverage. *The Washington Post*'s article appeared on page A19 under the subhead "Significance of Incorrect Altitude Unclear." *The New York Times* made no mention of the story at all. Of those publications that did mention the new Japanese data, none commented on the serious implications.

The U.S. government has made no public statement about the Japanese radar data. On "background," a State Department official dismissed the data as "fragmentary and defective." "You know how inaccurate radars are," he told *The Nation*. But the Japanese senator, Yutaka Hata, who requested and received the J.D.A. data said that the discrepancies in altitude could not be accounted for by the radar's margin of error or errors in on-board altimeters.

The State Department official also said that the I.C.A.O. had been given the Japanese altitude and speed material and had considered it in its report. However Marinus Heijl, a member of the organization's inquiry team, admitted to *The Nation* that the I.C.A.O. had never seen it. Thus the cornerstone of the U.S. official line, the I.C.A.O. report, was based on woefully incomplete information [see David Corn's article on page 110].

More disturbing, there is good reason to believe that the United States had access to the Japanese radar data soon after the downing. The State Department official refused to comment on this on the record, but the Administration has publicly acknowledged that it received Japanese recordings of communications between Soviet pilots and ground controllers—a form of intelligence that is generally considered more sensitive and less likely to be shared than radar data. Moreover, according to an account in Tokyo's *Asahi Evening News* based on interviews with Japanese government sources, Japanese intelligence on Flight 007 "was checked against information obtained by the U.S. from satellites and American facilities within Japan and confirmed as accurate." The sources revealed that "information concerning the Soviet Far East forces is constantly being exchanged between the United States and Japan." The Japanese analysis of the K.A.L. 007 data, the *Evening News* reported, began one and a half hours after the airliner was shot down. Four hours later, the analysis, including verification with U.S. sources, was concluded. That is, the Japanese and the Americans were comparing their data before the Administration even acknowledges it had any information about the downing.

Even if the U.S. government did not see the Japanese radar data until it was publicly released, it must have had independent information about the movements of K.A.L. 007 from its own radar and electronics stations at Wakkanai, on the Japanese island of Hokkaido, and Misawa, on the Japanese island of Honshu, and perhaps from other listening posts. Secretary of State George Shultz's statement on September 1, 1983, contained references that showed the United States had radar data other than those of the Japanese. The United States must also have intercepted com-



DRAWINGS BY ROBERT GROSSMAN

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PROPAGANDA COUP

When K.A.L. 007 went down over Sakhalin Island, the U.S. government immediately went on the air with its version of the event: the airliner had strayed inadvertently over Soviet territory without the knowledge of U.S. intelligence, and Soviet pilots had shot it out of the sky without warning.

Voice of America transmitters were boosted far beyond their normal capacity. A week after the downing, the station was broadcasting ninety additional hours a week. Engineers warned that sustaining the effort could lead to major equipment failure, but every technical resource was pushed to the limit because, as one VOA news manager told me, "This was the biggest story of the year, maybe the decade."

The K.A.L. story became the "Must Lead" item on each newscast in all forty-two languages broadcast during every on-air hour. Excerpts from an interview with U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Arthur Hartman were broadcast frequently. Secretary of State George Shultz's day-after speech was translated into Russian and Ukrainian and repeatedly aired. So were President Reagan's speeches of September 5 and 10 (the full text of the latter was translated into forty-one languages). In addition, VOA carried heart-wrenching stories about the victims' families compiled by a stringer in Seoul.

The station's coverage of the story was coordinated by the Special Planning Group on Public Diplomacy, established by the executive branch in January 1983. Each day for two weeks after the tragedy representatives from the departments of State and Defense, the National Security Council, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development and the Voice of America met to plan strategy. A liaison from the State Department's Korean Working Group consulted daily with VOA personnel. Policy directives for coverage of events drew from both White House and State Department sources. And the State Department had heavy input into the station's frequently aired editorials.

Although the Voice of America is only a small component of the foreign policy apparatus, its role in the government's K.A.L. propaganda effort was significant. VOA's heroic efforts paid off when Reagan requested $48 million in additional funds for the station for fiscal 1984. Appropriations for 1985 were approximately $160 million, and Congress has allotted $1.3 billion for a multiyear expansion and modernization program now under way. In his request for money following the K.A.L. incident, Reagan said, "In times like this, few assets are more important than the Voice of America and Radio Liberty."

LAURIEN ALEXANDRE

Laurien Alexandre, a research associate at Immaculate Heart College Center, is working on a book about Voice of America.

munications of the Soviet Air Defense Forces as it tracked the airliner over Soviet territory. U.S. deputy representative to the United Nations Charles Lichenstein appeared to confirm this at a Security Council meeting on September 2, 1983, when he told Soviet deputy representative Richard Ovinnikov, "We followed you following the flight."

That U.S. intelligence obtained information from "satellites and American facilities within Japan," as the *Evening News* reported, indicates that the U.S. government knows more about the event than the Administration has admitted. Why has the government kept the information secret for nearly two years?

The Flight Path in Soviet Airspace

The Japanese radar data are only part of the evidence indicating that K.A.L. 007's pilots were deliberately flying the airliner over Sakhalin Island. The day Flight 007 was shot down, the J.D.A. put out a map describing the course of the airliner over southern Sakhalin. The map showed that K.A.L. 007 had been flying a broad arc, a turn of about twenty degrees in total, which the plane's crew could not have flown unknowingly. Although U.S. journalists saw the map, the only U.S. publication that reproduced it was the aerospace industry journal *Aviation Week & Space Technology*. The turn over Sakhalin has been confirmed by Yoshitaro Masuo, in the May 1985 issue of the Japanese magazine *Sekai*, and by Duncan Campbell, in the April 26 issue of *New Statesman*.

What is known about K.A.L. 007's course suggests that the airliner had made another turn, to the west-northwest, as it approached Sakhalin. The radar data show that the plane flew an arc over Sakhalin. Assuming the plane was not flying in circles prior to that, it is logical to infer that it made an earlier turn to get into the curving path. Moreover, at 1809 G.M.T., the pilot of a Soviet SU-15 interceptor reported to his ground controllers, "Affirmative, it has turned . . . the target is eighty [degrees] to my left." The recently released J.D.A. data are not instructive on this point because they begin at 1812 G.M.T., three minutes after the turn likely took place. It is probable that J.D.A. radar at Wakkanai picked up K.A.L. 007 earlier than 1812, however, because at that time the airliner was well within its range. According to a U.S. government spokesman, the plane was also tracked by J.D.A. radars at Nemuro and Abashiri, on the north coast of Hokkaido. Data from the radar at Abashiri as well as earlier data from Wakkanai could describe the turn toward Sakhalin. Documentation of such a turn would provide further evidence that the airliner was flown deliberately over Soviet territory.

The Early Course

Analysis of data from the air traffic control radar at Kenai, Alaska, and from the military radar at King Salmon, Alaska, shows that K.A.L. 007 was off course virtually from the beginning and, furthermore, that it must have made a turn toward Soviet territory early in the flight. The data, made public last year in response to Freedom of Infor-

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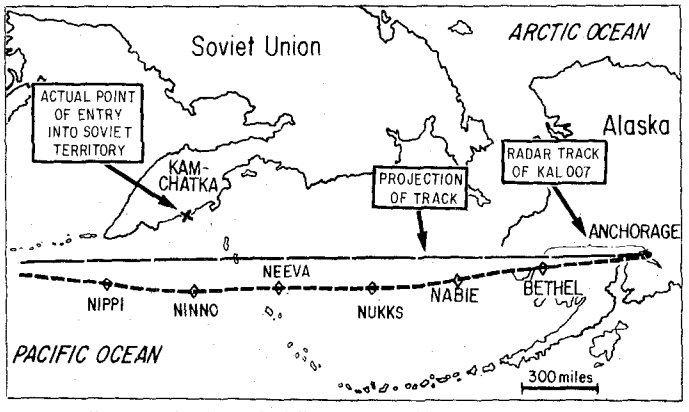
mation Act requests, show that the airliner was six nautical miles north of course as it passed Cairn Mountain, an en route nonreporting way point, and twelve nautical miles north of course at Bethel, its first required reporting way point. Working from these data, a 747 captain who asked not to be identified projected the airliner's course on a computer. The results demonstrate that if K.A.L. 007 had continued on the course it flew from shortly after takeoff to Bethel, it would have flown substantially south of where we know it went and would have missed the Kamchatka Peninsula entirely (see map below). This means that the airliner must have made a turn to the north—toward Soviet territory—somewhere after Bethel. The plane's scheduled route called for a turn to the south at Bethel.

The turn toward Soviet territory may have been within range of one or both of the U.S. Air Force radars at Cape Newenham and Cape Romanzof, Alaska. Unfortunately, it is impossible to examine data from these radars, which were automatically sent in real time to the Regional Operations Control Center at Elmendorf Air Force Base in Anchorage. According to lawyers defending the U.S. government in a suit brought by the families of Americans who died on Flight 007, the Air Force erased the radar tapes from capes Newenham and Romanzof, even though it is standard operating procedure to save all information relating to an aviation disaster. Suggesting that the destruction of the tapes was routine, Jan K. Von Flatern, a Justice Department attorney, explained that the Regional Operations Control Center "had no idea that it was going to be involved or that that data would be useful in the litigation at any point." The data would, of course, be extremely useful in the litigation and in independent investigations as well. The destruction of the tapes provides another example of crucial information that has been denied to the public.

The Communications Tapes

This spring we obtained eight reels of tape of U.S. and Japanese air traffic control communications with K.A.L. 007. It is routine after airline disasters for both private and government investigators to analyze relevant communications tapes. We contracted with Aviation Safety Associates International (A.S.A.I.), a leading firm in the aviation accident investigation field, to do a state-of-the-art acoustic enhancement of the tapes in conjunction with the electrical engineering department at Brigham Young University. The enhanced materials were evaluated by a panel of experts which included our principal consultant, Malcolm Brenner of A.S.A.I., a Ph.D. in psychology (human factors) who is a legal expert in aviation accident investigation and has testified both in court and before Congress on a number of airline accident cases. The panel included another legal expert in aviation accident cases, a legal expert on voice tapes who has a Ph.D. in speech pathology, a former air traffic controller with a Ph.D. in speech, and a line captain of a major U.S. airline who served as principal investigator for a major accident involving an airliner. (Because of the sensitivity of the K.A.L. 007 case, four of the five requested anonymity.)



A 747 pilot's projection of airliner's course based on King Salmon and Kenai radar data.

We asked the panel to examine the final "distress message," ostensibly from K.A.L. 007, recorded by air traffic controllers in Tokyo at 1827 G.M.T. The transmission began thirty-eight seconds after the pilot of the Soviet SU-15 interceptor reported to his ground controllers, "The target is destroyed."* The I.C.A.O. report renders the final message as follows:

> Tokyo Korean Air zero zero seven
> Korean Air zero zero seven
> (unintelligible)
> rapid compressions
> descending to one zero thousand

The I.C.A.O. report assumes that the final transmission originated with K.A.L. 007, that it was addressed to Tokyo air traffic controllers, that it reported decompression in the airliner's cabin and that the pilots were following standard emergency procedures to descend. But our five experts disagree with that interpretation. While they do not all agree on the precise wording of the transmission, their analysis allows us to say a number of things with certainty. First, although the I.C.A.O. rendering suggests that the final message was directed to air traffic controllers in Tokyo, the consensus of our panel is that the word "Tokyo" is not discernible. Three of the five experts believe that Tokyo was not the intended recipient of the message. Second, the panelists agree that there are a number of additional words and syllables in the transmission not accounted for by the I.C.A.O. Third, a majority of the experts are confident that part of the passage found to be "unintelligible" by the I.C.A.O. says either "Repeat that" or "Repeating." Finally, the experts agree with the I.C.A.O. that "rapid compressions" or something similar was said, but not a single member of the panel hears "descending to one zero thousand." Three of them hear no numbers in this final passage.

That "rapid compressions" or something similar was said suggests that K.A.L. 007 had experienced rapid decompres-

* Although hit, the airliner was not destroyed immediately. According to George Shultz, it remained in the air and on radar screens for twelve more minutes.

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sion of the cabin, an extremely serious condition for an airliner operating at substantial altitude. If the cabin had lost pressure, according to Brenner, the first item on the emergency checklist would be for the crew to don oxygen masks:

> At an altitude of about 32,000 feet [K.A.L. 007's altitude at the time], crew members and passengers would have about one minute of expected useful consciousness unless they successfully began receiving oxygen from an oxygen mask (in the event of a rapid decompression this time gets cut to about thirty seconds, since most of the air in the lungs gets sucked out during the decompression). . . . The Captain would then check with the flight engineer on the state of the pressurization system, and if pressurization cannot be maintained, would declare an emergency descent.

Although according to the I.C.A.O. the message indicates an emergency descent, that is not what the recently released Japanese altitude data show. They show that the airliner was still at 32,000 feet at 1829 G.M.T., two minutes after the final message was sent and more than two and a half minutes after the attack. This information contradicts an earlier official Japanese announcement that K.A.L. 007 had descended to about 30,000 feet by 1829 G.M.T. When Senator Hata formally asked the government of Japan why it had revised the figure to 32,000 feet, it responded: "In making public the altitude of the K.A.L. plane at 3:29 A.M., the expression of generally 30,000 feet, which gave some leeway, was used for the sake of caution." This "cautious" expression also conveyed the false impression that the airliner had followed emergency procedures and descended after the Soviet missile attack.

Some of our experts interpret the final transmission as a consecutive message from K.A.L. 007 reporting emergency conditions, but others are uncertain about what it might be. The airliner had already been hit by one or more Soviet missiles, yet the final message did not contain the word "Mayday." Brenner found this quite unusual: "There is a saying in aviation that 'one minute's flying is worth two days' rowing,' and for aircraft over water it would be critical to get the Mayday message started as soon as possible and lasting as long as possible. The ground station could then use the radio signal to take a fix on the aircraft's location and likely ditching site." Emergency procedures call for saying "Mayday" three times, followed by other information about the nature of the emergency, Brenner noted. The cockpit crew should have continued broadcasting until the last possible moment to help lead rescuers to the plane's location. But they did not.

Given the possibility that K.A.L. 007 was not communicating with Tokyo, to whom might the final message have been directed and what might it mean? One intriguing possibility is that the message was transmitted by two speakers, only one of whom was in the cockpit of K.A.L. 007. An examination of the average voice frequencies of the various parts of the final message reveals that there is a decided increase in voice stress toward the end, the only portion of the message where the words indicate distress. That disjunction leads two members of our panel to conclude that two people were speaking—the first with a decided "American accent." This hypothesis raises the disquieting possibility that K.A.L. 007 was in communication with

OVERFLIGHTS PAST

Aerial reconnaissance has long been a vexing issue in Soviet-American relations. Recently declassified (though still fragmentary) documents from among John Foster Dulles's papers in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library in Abilene, Kansas, suggest some troubling parallels with the K.A.L. 007 episode. They also show that by the middle of his second term, President Eisenhower worried that U.S. overflights of the Soviet Union might have serious consequences.

At a January 1958 meeting in the White House, Eisenhower told Gen. Nathan Twining, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that the U-2 missions that began in 1956 might "lead to a Soviet reaction" in Berlin which, "superficially at least, would seem justified." General Twining assured the President that overflights had been a regular practice for ten years and that there was not likely to be a serious reaction. Secretary of State Dulles, who knew more than he was willing to admit, said that "very valuable intelligence might be procured" by the flights.

Less than two months later, an American military plane, clearly on a spy mission, was shot down over North Korea, and the Russians filed an immediate protest with the State Department. When Dulles heard of the incident, he called his brother, Allen, the C.I.A. chief. Allen thought the shooting might be a reprisal; to this the Secretary of State responded, "They did what we would have done and did in similar circumstances." What really worried the brothers was that it would, as Foster Dulles put it, "reinforce the President's prejudice against this thing."

Two days later Eisenhower advised the Secretary of State that, in Dulles's words, "we should respond to the Soviets by saying that we were not aware of the matter referred to but that strong measures were being taken to prevent any recurrence." Further, according to Dulles's memorandum on the meeting, the President explained that his military advisers had pressed on him the necessity of retaliation if Soviet planes seemed to be moving toward the United States. He feared that the Russians, reasoning similarly, might react to an overflight as the start of a nuclear war.

It is ironic, given Eisenhower's developing sensitivity to the issue, that it was a U-2 mission over the Soviet Union sanctioned by him that destroyed the 1960 summit conference on which he had pinned his hopes of easing cold war tensions.

RICHARD D. CHALLENER

Richard D. Challener is a professor of history at Princeton University.

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some party of unknown identity after the missile attack.

At this stage we are not prepared to offer a definitive rendering of the final message. We believe, however, that our preliminary findings raise enough questions to warrant a complete state-of-the-art analysis of all voice communications and radar tapes, many of which are still unavailable to the public, by a committee of Congress.

Conclusion

The evidence that has come out in the past year casts considerable doubt on the investigation performed by the International Civil Aviation Organization. In its December 1983 report, the organization put forward two possible scenarios to explain how the airliner might have flown where it did accidentally. One posits that the crew of K.A.L. 007 misset a single switch at the start of the flight. The other proposes that the crew fed incorrect coordinates for Anchorage, its point of origin, into the airliner's inertial navigation system. Neither scenario withstands careful technical scrutiny. The I.C.A.O.'s own Air Navigation Commission refused to endorse either one, saying each "contained some points which could not be explained satisfactorily." [Drawing on interviews with seven senior 747 pilots, David Pearson discusses some of these unexplained technical points in a letter scheduled to appear in *The New York Review of Books* in early September.]

The latest evidence, particularly the Japanese radar data which the I.C.A.O. investigators never saw, further discredits the I.C.A.O. report's conclusions. The scenarios on which these rest do not work given the airliner's apparent changes in course: a turn to the north early in the flight somewhere past Bethel, a turn to the west-northwest approaching Sakhalin, and an arc over Sakhalin. They do not explain K.A.L. 007's unreported changes in speed and altitude over Sakhalin, which suggest the airliner was taking evasive action. Nor do they answer the many questions about the puzzling final transmission, including why there was no Mayday call.

Two years after the tragedy, the public has received no credible explanation for the death of 269 persons. Although the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, according to a May 30 letter from committee chair Lee Hamilton of Indiana, is conducting an "ongoing" staff investigation into the K.A.L. downing, its commitment is limited. Michael O'Neil, chief counsel, said the staff is not actively pursuing the case but would examine any new information that came to its attention.

We believe there is already ample evidence in the public record to warrant a full-scale Congressional investigation. The data we have presented here would provide a good starting point. But there are many other leads for Congress to follow. Among the most intriguing:

§ Both *Der Spiegel* and *New York* reported last fall that shortly after the downing Secretary of State George Shultz, Director of Central Intelligence William Casey, Edwin Meese 3d (then counselor to the President), William Clark (then national security adviser) and two Under Secretaries of State, Lawrence Eagleburger and Richard Burt, held a

K.A.L. FLIGHT 007 UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

1 YEAR AFTER

K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew and When We Knew It

David Pearson's newsbreaking and scholarly investigation in the August 18/25, 1984, issue of The Nation.

2 YEARS AFTER

K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions

David Pearson, John Keppel, David Corn and others analyze new evidence uncovered in the past year and describe the government's efforts to inhibit the investigation. In the August 17/24, 1985, Nation.

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teleconference to discuss Flight 007. *Der Spiegel* also reported that a widely circulated story that the plane had landed safely on Sakhalin Island was planted by the Central Intelligence Agency to buy time for the U.S. government to coordinate its version of events with the governments of Japan and South Korea. Either story, if true, means the Administration knew what happened to K.A.L. 007 long before it says it did.

§ On August 23, 1984, attorney Melvin Belli, who represents several relatives of those who died in the disaster, reported on West German television station ARD a conversation he had in Seoul with the widows of the pilot and co-pilot of K.A.L. 007: "They told me that the captain and the co-pilot were paid to intentionally take this shortcut over Russian territory. They made this statement voluntarily in the presence of three other American attorneys and thirty bereaved persons. The widows said that K.A.L. paid its pilots special bonuses for flying over Russian territory. The widows, furthermore, stated that the pilots had become so afraid of these flights that they wanted to discontinue them." Another lawyer present during the conversation told *The Nation* that Capt. Chun Byung-in's widow said that Chun had told her Flight 007 was an especially dangerous mission.

Armed with subpoena power and the right to examine classified evidence, the House intelligence committee—or any other Congressional committee—could ascertain if there is any truth in these and other reports. Perhaps more important, it could legally demand access to:

- All data collected by U.S. military and intelligence radars in Alaska, the Aleutian Islands and Japan, and by U.S. military vessels and aircraft that were within range of K.A.L. 007's course.
- A list of all Japanese radar and communications data that the U.S. government has been privy to since the downing.
- All Soviet communications intercepted by U.S. military and intelligence, including air-to-air, air-to-ground and ground-to-air communications during the time K.A.L. 007 was approaching and passing over Kamchatka Peninsula, as well as Soviet ground-to-air communications during K.A.L. 007's passage over Sakhalin Island.
- Logs and names of officers and other military personnel from the relevant bases and headquarters (Elmendorf Air Force Base; Shemya Air Force Base; Misawa Air Base; Commander in Chief, Pacific Command, in Hawaii; the Pentagon; the White House) who were on duty during the afternoon and night of August 31, 1983.

A Congressional investigation could subpoena and question the duty officers and other working-level Federal Aviation Administration, military, intelligence and executive branch personnel about specific points raised by careful technical analysis of the documentary material. It could offer people in the military and intelligence services who may be unhappy about having become swept up in a cover-up a place to clear their consciences. Using the new information it developed, it would then be in a position to question higher-level officials—and come closer to solving the mystery of K.A.L. Flight 007. □

OF THREATS AND MISSING TAPES

Fear and Obstruction on The K.A.L. Trail

DAVID CORN

In the past two years, those seeking answers to the nagging questions that remain about Korean Air Lines Flight 007 have encountered a number of roadblocks. Information regarding the tragedy has been withheld, suppressed and destroyed. Gag orders and government attempts at intimidation have limited the flow of information, and official investigations have proved inadequate.

Limits on the free flow of information may in certain circumstances be imposed legitimately to protect national security or the rights of litigants, and it can be argued that the case of K.A.L. 007 involves both of those. Nevertheless, the public's right to know what occurred on the night of August 31, 1983, remains compelling. The obstacles that investigators have run into are so substantial that they have become a significant factor in understanding the case. Those obstacles warrant scrutiny.

The most blatant example of official obstruction came to light in February, when the U.S. government admitted in Federal District Court that Air Force tape recordings of radar tracks from Cape Newenham and Cape Romanzof, in Alaska, which might have told much about the path of the aircraft, had been destroyed. The U.S. government claims that Air Force radar tapes are normally recycled about thirty hours after recording an aircraft's passage. The fate of Flight 007 was known well within thirty hours after the recordings were made. Still, the Air Force did not save the tapes, even though it customarily impounds information related to aviation disasters. The failure to preserve the tapes sharply contrasts with the Administration's claim that after the downing it made an extensive effort to retrieve all relevant tapes recorded at U.S. listening posts in the area.

U.S. officials have not only destroyed evidence; they have used intimidating tactics to try to block independent investigations of the disaster. A partner in one firm that was looking into a technical aspect of the case received a warning from a Defense Department official. "The basic message was that we were getting involved in an extremely sensitive case involving material of national security importance," reported the partner, who requested anonymity but said he would "be glad" to testify if subpoenaed. He said the Pentagon official told him the firm was "walking on eggshells"

David Corn is a freelance journalist living in New York City. *Research for this article was made possible by a grant from The Nation Institute.*

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and cautioned him to solicit advice immediately from the intelligence community if he came across any sensitive information. "He told me to be careful and not to forget that the government is an important client," the partner said. "I got scared." The official also suggested that U.S. citizens still investigating Flight 007 are fronting for foreign countries.

Government employees who may have access to relevant information about Flight 007 have been successfully silenced. When asked about a *Der Spiegel* report alleging that several top U.S. officials, including Secretary of State George Shultz, held a teleconference shortly after the downing (and, so, knew about it long before officially claimed), a State Department employee said, "I could find out if this happened, but I would lose my job for asking." State Department spokesman Thomas Maertens denied that such a teleconference occurred.

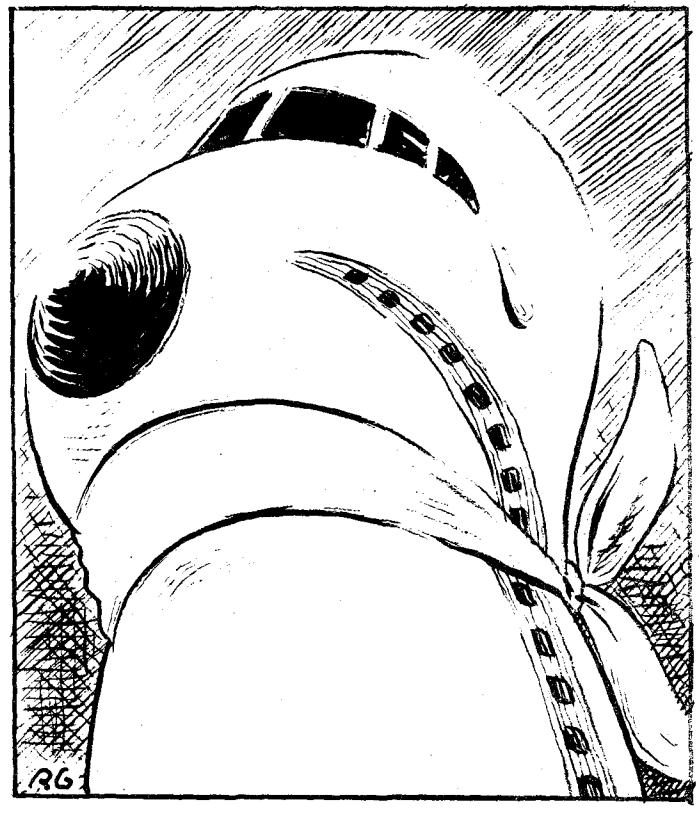
Several employees of the Federal Aviation Administration, which was responsible for monitoring the first part of the aircraft's flight, have said they are afraid to talk about K.A.L. 007. Steve Jorgensen, a civilian air traffic controller in Anchorage who was asked about a military radar feed, said, "We've been told not to talk about that." He added, "Listen, buddy, I got to keep on making money. I can't talk to you. Sorry." Another air traffic controller received a telephone call from an F.A.A. public affairs officer in Anchorage shortly before a scheduled meeting with a reporter in February. The controller was ordered not to discuss Flight 007.

Both the F.A.A. and Korean Air Lines say their employees are bound by legal constraints not to discuss the case. On December 22, 1983, Federal District Court Judge Aubrey E. Robinson Jr., who is presiding over the lawsuit brought against K.A.L. and the U.S. government* by the victims' relatives, issued a gag order at the request of the airline. All other parties to the suit consented. Judge Robinson's order prohibited plaintiffs and defendants—including the United States and therefore the F.A.A.—from disclosing "any information or documents obtained in the course of these . . . proceedings." The order also prevented those involved in the court case from discussing with the news media information arising from the suit. Last October, in response to a challenge brought by *The Washington Post*, Robinson modified the gag order so that only information obtained in the lawsuit's discovery process—documents and exact testimony of witnesses—is covered. Yet the F.A.A.'s blanket order that none of its employees may discuss any aspect of K.A.L. 007 stands firm. When interviewed in May, James Dillman, assistant chief counsel for litigation at the F.A.A., said he was unaware that the court's gag order had been loosened. He defended the F.A.A.'s position, saying, "We have 50,000 employees. We can't allow each the latitude the order [Robinson's] may contemplate."

Judge Robinson has also severely narrowed the scope of the lawsuit, which might have provided some of the missing pieces to the Flight 007 puzzle. On April 18, 1984, he ordered that the plaintiffs could conduct discovery against the United States only "with respect to uncovering the existence of a legal duty to warn or advise civilian aircraft in the position of K.A.L. 007 on August 31, 1983, and September 1, 1983." In effect, this prohibits the relatives from ascertaining U.S. monitoring capabilities in the region or from trying to answer the question, What did the United States know and when did it know it?

Nor can the plaintiffs explore the possibility that the airliner was involved in some kind of intelligence mission. At a February 2, 1984, pretrial conference, Robinson declared: "We don't want to open up that can of worms as to whether this is . . . military intelligence, whether it is foreign surveillance, what are the capabilities of NASA, what satellites you have got up there and what they are doing. This is out of the case once and for all."

Outside the courtroom, the United States, Japan and the Soviet Union have all withheld information crucial to resolving questions about Flight 007. For eighteen months, until March of this year, Japan refused to disclose radar data that cover the last minutes of the flight and that challenge the official U.S. version of what occurred in those moments [see David Pearson and John Keppel's article on page 104]. The U.S. government asserts it had no access to the data, but that claim is hardly surprising given that the Reagan Administration refuses to acknowledge even the radar data that have been in the public record since soon after the downing. Japanese radar data used in the September 12 and 19, 1983, issues of *Aviation Week & Space Technology* show the plane making a gradual turn over Sakhalin Island, an indication that it may have been deliberately navigated. Yet the official U.S. account has the plane flying a straight path as it passed over the island.



*Boeing and Litton were also named in the suit, but Robinson dismissed them as defendants earlier this month.

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The United States and Japan have also withheld intercepted Soviet tracking data that might help settle the issue of whether the aircraft made a turn on its approach to Sakhalin Island, as well as unreported altitude changes over it. The Soviet Union has not made this material available either. Although the Reagan Administration did release tape recordings of the Soviet pilots' communications, it has refused to make public the intercepted communications of the Soviet military ground control that tracked Flight 007.

Another obstacle has been the State Department's handling of requests brought under the Freedom of Information Act. Rather than respond to individual requests seeking specific material, the State Department's information and privacy staff says it is reviewing all the agency's files on the case to determine what may be made public. Individuals have been told they must wait until the entire process is completed before they will know if the department has complied with their requests for specific documents. "This is a highly unusual step," said David Sobel, an attorney specializing in F.O.I.A. cases. "Usually people file very broad requests, and the agency asks them to narrow the request. In this case, people who have filed narrow requests are told the agency can only respond in a very broad fashion."

One F.O.I.A. request filed by Sobel for the Fund for Constitutional Government sought a list of all the material the State Department had forwarded to the United Nations' International Civil Aviation Organization (I.C.A.O.). The State Department replied that such a list could not be located. "I find it incredible," said Sobel, "that State doesn't have a record of documents it provided to an international organization." Furthermore, a spokesman for the I.C.A.O. maintains that it does not have a list either.

While unofficial inquiries have been stalled by such obfuscation, various official investigations into Flight 007 have proved inadequate. In the absence of a comprehensive U.S. investigation, the Administration points to the report issued by the I.C.A.O. as the last word on the case. A State Department fact sheet states that the organization's inquiry is the "most authoritative account of the entire incident" and that the United States "cooperated fully." The fact sheet also notes, "After an exhaustive investigation by an international team of impartial experts, I.C.A.O. found no evidence that K.A.L. 007 was on an intelligence mission."

The international team did investigate and dismiss the Soviet charge that a forty-minute delay in the plane's departure from Anchorage was deliberately arranged so the aircraft could fly an intelligence mission coordinated with U.S. satellites. But beyond that, the I.C.A.O.'s report explains, the team "did not consider further the hypothesis" that there was "a premeditated deviation from the flight plan route for intelligence gathering purposes." And the investigators did not consider at all whether the United States was able to monitor Flight 007's trespass into Soviet airspace and the subsequent attack.

The I.C.A.O., which has no power of subpoena, based its report primarily on information volunteered by the countries involved. Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union all withheld significant information. The report notes that the I.C.A.O. never received tapes or transcripts of the Soviet military ground controllers. Nor did it have access to the Japanese radar data that show K.A.L. 007 making an unreported descent and ascent, as well as changes in speed, over Sakhalin Island.

"We were never aware of any descent in that phase of the flight," said Marinus Heijl, a technical officer at the organization's Air Navigation Bureau and a participant in the investigation. "We heard about the turn [over Sakhalin] and the different theories about it. But we had no real explanation for any turn or any information on that turn."

The I.C.A.O. has a standing request for all information relevant to the case. "If new information came in, we would scrutinize it," said Duane Freer, director of the Air Navigation Bureau. "The I.C.A.O. is willing to elaborate upon the investigation." But three months after the Japanese altitude data were released and publicized in various news accounts, the organization still had not received the material.

Neither Freer nor members of the investigating team said they find it troubling that relevant data were not made available to them. "The reason for Japan not giving us [the radar data] is not a concern of ours," said Freer. "At the time [of the investigation], the Japanese told us they had given us everything that is pertinent. We accepted that."

The I.C.A.O. also accepted the refusal of the United States and Japan to hand over the recordings of Soviet military ground controllers. "My conclusion," Freer commented, "is that there must have been a mistake, and the U.S. must have been referring to the recordings of the [Soviet] pilots." Yet the U.S. government has publicly admitted that tape recordings of Soviet ground controllers were made. Of course, the I.C.A.O. also did not receive the radar data erased by the U.S. Air Force. Apart from reading news accounts of the destruction of the radar tapes, the investigators have not looked into this matter.

Freer admitted that the I.C.A.O. investigation was not comprehensive. The organization, he pointed out, has investigated only two aviation disasters in its forty-one-year history: the 1973 Israeli attack on a Libyan airliner and the Soviet attack on K.A.L. 007. "We're not in the business of doing that," Freer said. "We had a short time frame to determine the technical aspects of the accident. A full-fledged state investigation goes into greater detail." He compared the I.C.A.O.'s investigation of the downing with the National Transportation Safety Board's inquiry that followed the crash of a DC-10 aircraft at Chicago's O'Hare Airport in 1979. In the case of the DC-10, more than one hundred people worked on a seven-month investigation. "There was a great deal of analysis," Freer noted. "They went to great lengths to tie every fact down." For the I.C.A.O.'s Flight 007 inquiry, according to Freer, five full-time and four part-time investigators had only sixty days to complete the study in time for the organization's 1983 year-end session.

It is that report on which the Reagan Administration has based much of its case. Even though sixty-one U.S. citizens were among the 269 victims, no official U.S. body has con-

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ducted a comprehensive study that is open to public examination. "All the investigations in the U.S. have been very cursory and have rubber-stamped the international findings," said Tommy Toles, who served as press secretary to Representative Larry McDonald, who died on the flight.

Normally when an airliner crashes, responsibility for the inquiry falls to the National Transportation Safety Board, which has the technical expertise to assess what happened. Although the downing of Flight 007 cannot be classified as a routine aviation disaster, the N.T.S.B. office in Anchorage was notified the plane was missing just three hours after it had plunged into the Sea of Japan and immediately began to look into the matter. Shortly after that, it was told to forward to its headquarters in Washington all the material—originals and copies—it had gathered. From there, the information was sent to the State Department. James Michelangelo, chief of the N.T.S.B.'s Anchorage office, was told by headquarters that the board was off the case and that the State Department would handle the investigation. Eighteen months after the airliner was shot down, when asked if the State Department ever conducted such an inquiry, a high-level State Department official replied, "How is the State Department going to investigate?"

Yet the State Department, which has an obvious political interest in the case, has taken the lead in managing the flow of information about Flight 007. Donald Madole, an attorney representing the victims' relatives, said, "This is the only accident investigation that I have ever been involved in . . . where the release of information is . . . apparently controlled by the Department of State." The facts, he added, are "not being made available to the general public."

On Capitol Hill, House and Senate intelligence committees conducted their own inquiries. Each said it found no evidence that Flight 007 was on a spy mission or that U.S. intelligence monitored the flight. But there are questions about how thorough either intelligence committee's investigation was. No public hearings were held, and the committees will not release the names of the government officials they questioned or even a summary of the material on which they based their conclusions. In its 1984 year-end report, the Senate committee indicated that its conclusions were drawn only from briefings supplied by U.S. intelligence agencies and the State Department. And although the House committee's chief counsel, Michael O'Neil, claimed that its investigation was extensive, one House aide said, "I wouldn't really dignify it by calling it an investigation." The committee, according to Representative Edward Boland, its chair at the time, "obtained testimony only from U.S. officials." Like the I.C.A.O. team, the House committee did not have the Japanese radar data when it conducted its investigation. Asked whether the committee had access to tapes of the Soviet ground control stations, O'Neil responded elliptically: "We had access to everything there was to have access to."

None of this—the destruction of radar tape recordings, the threats from a Pentagon official, the F.A.A.'s broad interpretation of the gag order, the information withheld by various governments, the insufficient inquiries—proves or disproves anything about the flight of K.A.L. 007. It does show that the official obstacles that have prevented public understanding of the tragedy are formidable, so formidable that nothing short of subpoena power may be able to overcome them. □

SECRET U.S. NUCLEAR ARSENAL

When Japan Had The Bomb—And Didn't Know It

WALDEN BELLO, PETER HAYES AND LYUBA ZARSKY

Newly declassified documents reveal that nuclear weapons were stored in the Far East—probably in Japan, Okinawa and Iwo Jima—between 1955 and 1957.

The U.S.-Japan Security Treaty of 1951 made the United States responsible for the defense of Japan and allowed it to base troops and weapons there. By the mid-1950s, Japanese opposition to the possible stockpiling of nuclear weapons and to the treaty itself had become widespread. Huge demonstrations immobilized the country and President Eisenhower's planned visit in 1960 had to be canceled. Peace activists charged that nukes were already in place but they could not prove it. "Nothing ever brought this to a flash point," Edwin Reischauer, U.S. Ambassador to Japan in the 1960s, told us recently. Japanese government officials either claimed that the United States did not store nukes in Japan or implied that even if there were they would be removed when the treaty was revised in 1960. If the existence of the nuclear arsenal had been proved, the treaty might not have been ratified, and the ruling pro-American Liberal Democratic Party might even have been replaced by the socialist opposition.

The now-declassified Standard Operating Procedure for Atomic Operations in the Far East (S.O.P.), issued by Gen. Maxwell Taylor in 1955 and revamped the next year by his successor, Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, shows the extent to which Japan was integrated in U.S. contingency plans for nuclear war at this volatile time. A special Theater Joint Operations Center was established in Tokyo, and nuclear weapons were stored most likely in Guam and also in the continental United States.

But the 1956 S.O.P. goes on to say, "In addition to those stored in the CINCSAC [Commander in Chief, Strategic Air Command] sites referred to above [e.g., Guam], CINCFE's [Commander in Chief, Far East] atomic

Walden Bello, Peter Hayes and Lyuba Zarksy are authors of the forthcoming American Lake: Nuclear Peril in the Pacific.

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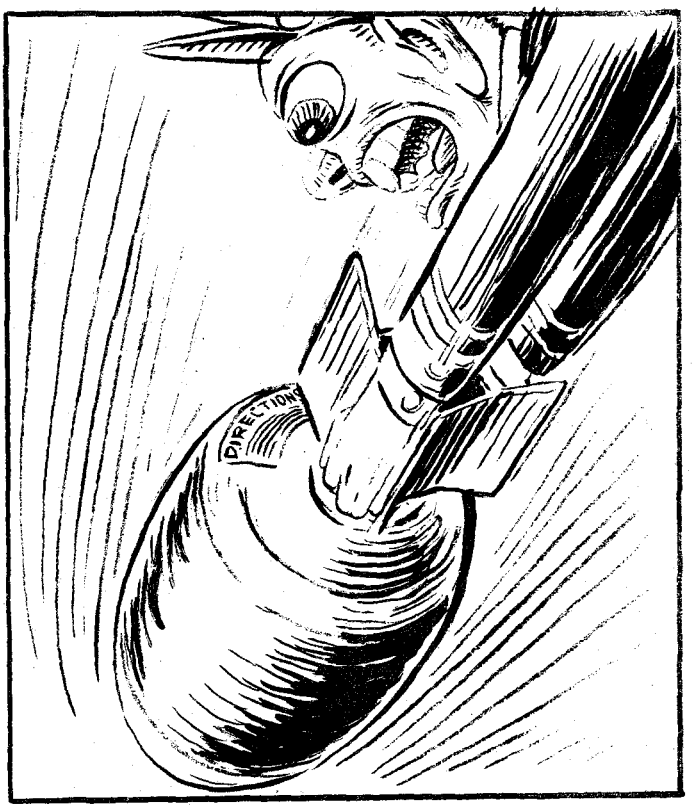
weapons and components are stored in storage sites under the operational control of the component commands of the FEC [Far East Command]." Other material in the S.O.P. makes it likely that bases in Japan, Okinawa and Iwo Jima were the storage sites.

The document also reveals that American contingency plans for war in the Far East imposed only loose controls on the use of nuclear weapons. Once Washington authorized escalation to nuclear weapons, the S.O.P. allowed the Far East commander to decide when and where they should be used. Rather than let the weapons fall into enemy hands, his forces were required to use them, even on targets that he had not approved. If communications broke down, the Far East commander could even delegate to subordinates authority to order nuclear strikes without the Tokyo center's approval.

In 1957 the Navy-led Pacific Command swallowed the Army's Far East Command. The new area included the Pacific Ocean and, in wartime, China, North Korea and the Soviet Far East. The Pacific Command's war plans for the defense of Taiwan, Quemoy and Matsu were known as Oplan (Operation Plan) 25-58.

Adm. Harry Felt, leader of the Pacific Command in 1958, said in an oral history, "Most of us believed in those days that the use of tactical nuclear weapons wouldn't key off the big war, and [we] didn't have any plan to do it any other way." Indeed, during the Quemoy-Matsu crisis of August 1958, Felt prepared to activate the Oplan, putting nuclear bombers in Guam, Okinawa, the Philippines and Taiwan on full alert. According to a recently declassified Air Force history, Felt had not prepared for a protracted conventional defense. After all, the Oplan called for dropping nukes on China at the start of a shooting war over the islands. Only on September 11, a full month after the crisis erupted, did Felt issue a nonnuclear annex to the Oplan. That the United States ran such risks "would have been deeply shocking" had it been known in Japan at the time, Ambassador Reischauer told us, and "would have . . . undermined the whole American-Japanese relationship."



Following that episode, Felt asked the Pentagon to look into the problems of nuclear command and control in the Pacific Command. Washington sent out a young analyst from the Rand Corporation named Daniel Ellsberg. As he examined the Pacific annex to the 1959 General Emergency Operational Plan (G.E.O.P.) Ellsberg became alarmed at the continued assumption that nuclear weapons should be used at the outset of a war.

Japan played a big role in the G.E.O.P.'s outline for American nuclear fighting in the Pacific. Bombs would be flown in from Guam and Okinawa and loaded onto bombers for strikes on the Asian mainland. The Fifth Air Force in Japan was ordered "to maintain capability to commence launch of atomic forces in Japan within one hour of receipt of complete nuclear weapons." Airfields in Japan were also designated for "recovery" and "post-strike operations" of U.S. bombers, according to a recently declassified 1960 report to the President.

And that was only at the beginning of a war. According to the G.E.O.P., American and Asian—probably Nationalist Chinese—forces were expected to backpack nuclear weapons to behind-the-lines targets like bridges, tunnels and power plants in China and the Soviet Far East. While they hiked, they were supposed to rally "indigenous elements opposed to the Communist regime."

Like the earlier procedural document of the Far East Command, the G.E.O.P. contained many possibilities for confusion and error. Ellsberg discovered that many senior field commanders believed that the Pacific commander in chief had the authority to use nuclear weapons if contact with Washington was lost. So, they thought, did some pilots who might have lost contact with the Pacific commander. Back in Washington, senior civilian security advisers insisted to Ellsberg that the Navy men were wrong. However, Ellsberg says that they eventually found a black notebook containing letters authorizing regional commanders in the theater of war such as Admiral Felt to order the use of nuclear weapons at their own discretion if contact with Washington was lost or in "situations of extreme time urgency." For many years the possibility existed that nuclear weapons would be used in the Pacific inadvertently and without civilian authorization.

Current American plans for nuclear war in the Pacific, like the S.O.P., the Oplan and the G.E.O.P., rely on bases and forces provided by America's allies in the Pacific. But opposition is mounting. Japanese resistance to U.S. pressure to "remilitarize," for example, is increasingly linked to a Pan-Pacific movement for a nuclear-free zone. The movement includes New Zealand, which recently banned port calls by nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered ships. Drawn, often unwittingly, into American war preparations, Pacific allies may well make the difference between nuclear war plans and nuclear war. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Reading Aloud

CLARA CLAIBORNE PARK

THE OXFORD BOOK OF CHILDREN'S VERSE IN AMERICA. *Edited by Donald Hall. Oxford University Press. 319 pp. $18.95.*

There's a poem Dear Abby likes to reprint from time to time. Donald Hall doesn't include it in *The Oxford Book of Children's Verse in America*, though its insistent rhythm and the directness with which it makes its point would fit nicely somewhere between Sara Josepha Hale ("Mary Had a Little Lamb") and Elizabeth Akers Allen ("Backward, turn backward, O Time, in your flight!"). Like most of such verses, it has a useful message: each stanza, after enumerating more commonplace advantages, culminates with the refrain "I had a mother who read to me."

Most of the students I come across in English 101, Introduction to Literature, though outfitted with all the impedimenta of an affluent society, have been denied that inexpensive blessing. Neither parent seems to have read to them, least of all poetry. And to realize that they never read anything aloud themselves you have only to set them to doing it. A few of them are already quite good at the silent process we teach in the best of our schools: they can dig into the metaphors, allow for the persona, appreciate the ambiguities, trace how the poem gets where it's going. For most, however, poetry is a foreign country. In high school they read stories, they'll tell you vaguely; they find the poems I give them pretty queer stuff, as well they might, since I usually start them off with "The Red Wheelbarrow."

But whether they are incipient Empsons or strangers in wonderland, it's plain they haven't been read to. They may know how to study poetry, but few indeed are those who can experience it, enter it unthinking and natural, free from the demands, explicit and implicit, of an academic context. They didn't have a mother who read to them, and so they associate poetry—alack the day!—with *school*. With thinking. With working. With, worst of all, grades, which we use to reward the skill of paying close attention to what goes on in a poem—a skill which, if they only knew it, can be guaranteed to pay off when they take the LSAT's. What they don't associate it with is irresponsible pleasure; with sound, its pricks and tremors and rumbles and runs and full stops; with language responded to all the more intensely because it isn't fully understood. They've got the whole thing backward, and it isn't their fault. It's ours.

So if children are to love language (I won't say "master it," because I'm not talking about that, and besides, mastery follows as the night the day), we need to read to them, and we need books to read to them out of. Makers of anthologies undertake an important enterprise, one which when well done puts in their debt all parents who are capable of opening their mouths and turning print into sound. We *need* anthologies for children.

It's not entirely clear, however, whether this anthology is for children. Is it a collection of verse that children will like? Or that they have liked? Or that they have been expected to like by the adults who got together the school readers and Christmas annuals and young people's magazines which, Hall tells us in an interesting introduction, began to appear in the 1820s and soon provided a market for "hundreds of thousands of poems"? He is very stern about his responsibilities: "The editor of an Oxford Book of Verse serves a purpose documentary and historical as well as aesthetic," and thus "must collect not only verse that pleases him. . . . The editor of this book wishes to gather the best verse read over the centuries by American children . . . but he also wishes to represent such verse as they in fact read, whether he admires it or not."

Arthur Quiller-Couch was considerably more *gemütlich* in introducing *The Oxford Book of English Verse*. He had "set his heart upon choosing the best. . . . nor had it been any feat to search out and insert the second-rate merely because it happened to be recondite"; his wish was "that the reader should in his own pleasure quite forget the editor's labor." Against that, Hall tells us that he and his assistant "can claim to have looked into one hundred thousand American poems for children." Good grief!

Wishing to represent "culture not geography," the editor has excluded "Abenaki cradle songs, French Canadian lullabies . . . Mexican schoolyard rhymes." We may miss them. Nevertheless, he begins strong, with the irresistible inversions of *The Bay Psalm Book*: "The Lord to me a shepherd is,/want therefore shall not I." Welcome too are the alphabet from *The New England Primer* (two versions, the second notably more pious than the first) and the stanzas from Michael Wigglesworth's "The Day of Doom," in which unbaptized infants are allotted "the easiest room in Hell." The historical interest will sustain the careful parent (and the child?) through Philip Freneau's "Columbus to Ferdinand," but where is Joaquin Miller's "Behind him lay the grey Azores"? Little children will like Eliza Lee Follen's "The Good Moolly Cow," and who wouldn't be charmed to find that "The Three Little Kittens" has an author, and an American one at that?

Two pious poems on "The Dying Child's Request," and such poems as "Anna Playing in a Graveyard," represent an important genre, and Hall is right to include them, however condescendingly. They served a valuable function in a world where death was a familiar presence and, in the words of one of the poems, "Young children too may die." My mother recalled a childhood visit that must have taken place during the 1890s; when she asked about a large, long board standing in the hall her mother shushed her, but later explained it was for laying out bodies. I myself played in a graveyard, accompanying my grandmother on Sunday visits to the dead, and ended the day with "Nowalaymie down to sleep," repeating "If I die before I wake" with the mechanical inattention of childhood.

The existence of a market for thousands of poems a year was a lifesaver for literate women whose families, often large, lacked a male provider, and "through all the historical changes . . . it was mostly women who wrote chil-

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Clara Claiborne Park teaches at Williams College and is the author of The Siege: The First Eight Years of an Autistic Child *(Atlantic-Little, Brown).*

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dren's verse in America." The exigencies of the market, however, did not reward originality. Editors of children's magazines were not looking for the unusual phrase or the unconventional perception; it was not until after her death that they published Emily Dickinson.

Death and piety became less attractive subjects as the century wore on; birds, flowers and animals more so. "The Brown Thrush," "The Mouse's Lullaby," "The Sandpiper," were typical titles, and "If I were an owl and you were an owl" represents the height to which imagination rose. Children do like birds and animals, I assume, and America was then a rural nation; nevertheless, it was also a rapidly industrializing one, and children like machines too. Except for "Darius Green and His Flying-Machine" and a couple of train poems (including the famous one by Emily Dickinson) nineteenth-century children's poets don't seem to mention them. "Over the river and through the wood,/To grandmother's house we go." It is a positive relief to come upon a highly urban poem about a family of street beggars scavenging refuse—and timely for New York children a hundred years later.

Male poets of the nineteenth century wrote for adults, but poems by Longfellow, Bryant, Whittier and Poe were soon reprinted for children, thus contributing a narrative eventfulness the ladies lacked. The poems that were famous in my childhood are so little read today that most children and many parents will encounter them here for the first time.

> Lives of great men all remind us
> We can make our lives sublime,
> And, departing, leave behind us,
> Footprints on the sands of time.

How will that strike a child today? I honestly don't know. Yet even college students are less likely than we might predict to reject the clarion call. When I ask my students to choose a poem, any poem, to learn by heart, more than one has chosen Kipling's "If" (and none "The Red Wheelbarrow").

Here, at any rate, are "Paul Revere's Ride" and "The Wreck of the Hesperus," "Excelsior!" and other poems that have added phrases to the language: "the children's hour," "the patter of little feet," "something attempted, something done." "The Raven" is still a marvel of linguistic ingenuity at a time when that was in short supply. The tintinnabulation of the bells, bells, bells, bells, bells, bells may not seem too subtle in its sound effects, but among their monotonous fourteeners and relentless anapests few of these other poems provide any sound effects at all.

It is good to make these old stalwarts available; they are part of our heritage, and no one is likely to read them anywhere but in an anthology. Oliver Wendell Holmes is almost forgotten, but his "Height of the Ridiculous" is one of the funniest poems in the language. The humorous strain he introduces takes over in the second half of the book, and we may feel it is not a moment too soon. The Carryls, father and son, are a cheery pair. (We used to sing "A capital ship for an ocean trip was The Walloping Window-blind" in school; does anybody sing in school anymore?) Little Orphant Annie's better than I thought; "Casey at the Bat" is wonderful. As we press through the twentieth century there are Practical Cats, Ogden Nash, fine cautionary tales by Shel Silverstein (one about Jimmy who turned into a TV set, having "watched till his eyes were frozen wide,/And his bottom grew into his chair,/And his chin turned into a tuning dial,/And antennae grew out his hair"). Once the documentation's done we're in the clear; children will certainly like a lot of the poems in the book's second half.

Hall is shrewd, though; he suspects that "our contemporary fashions in children's verse, which favor humor and nonsense, will one day seem as quaint as pieties about dead children." When that day comes we may wonder about the loss of conviction that made it so hard to express the serious concerns about morals and values that were so natural a part of earlier poetry for children. Of the poems that come from the twentieth century, only one speaks to a child's idealistic sense of what is right, Countee Cullen's understated verses about a black 8-year-old smiling at another child, who then poked out his tongue and called him "Nigger":

> I saw the whole of Baltimore
> From May until December;
> Of all the things that happened there
> That's all that I remember.

Too much morality at first, then none at all. Missing, too, is something far less American, a sense of the wondrous. In this way, too, the anthology is representative. "The Sunday School movement called for a children's literature that inculcated sound morals and pious reflection," Hall writes. "It also called for

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realism rather than fantasy." He could carry this further; the best American prose fiction for children is realistic too. While English children immersed themselves in Lewis Carroll and George McDonald and E. Nesbit, American children (and some English ones) were learning from Louisa May Alcott and Frances Hodgson Burnett and, much later, Laura Ingalls Wilder not how to meet magic but how to act decently and sensibly in a world of ordinary human beings. What's missing in this collection is only what's missing in most American literature for children until very recently: the appeal to imagination and to the sense of beauty.

None of these poems, to quote one of Emerson's not collected for children, can help a child "mount to paradise/By the stairway of surprise." Until, perhaps, Nancy Willard's "Blake Leads a Walk on the Milky Way" (but Mother will have to explain who Blake is) none "conveys/Sparks of the supersolar blaze." So little is there of that imagery that feeds the spirit that Wynken, Blynken and Nod's "river of crystal light" seems like water in a desert.

But not for long. We're brought with a bump into the unwelcome discovery that "Wynken and Blynken are two little eyes,/And Nod is a little head." "Little," in fact, is the recurrent adjective in this book: "A little old-fashioned girl," "A winsome little ghost," "little breeze, little leaves," "Little folk"—the mark of adults writing for themselves or for adult editors, not for children. Hall knows what he's doing when he slips in Morris Bishop's "How to Treat Elves" who talk too cute:

> "'N then I play with the baby chicks,
> I call them, chick chick chick!
> 'N what do you think of that?" said he.
> I said, "It makes me sick.
>
> "It gives me sharp and shooting pains
> To listen to such drool."
> I lifted up my foot, and squashed
> The God damn little fool.

It's a Draconian remedy, but though there's a good deal to enjoy in this book, you may be tempted to apply it.

Not least by the shocking quality of the proofreading. Especially in a book for children, the text should be trustworthy. Alas, the familiar Oxford dark blue and gold now guarantees nothing. "The Deacon's Masterpiece" is set so that a line doesn't scan; a dropped word does the same to a Bryant poem; the Skipper in "Skipper Ireson's Ride" calls on his neighbors to "Here me";

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Psycholinguist Suzette Haden Elgin has presented her innovative self-defense principles in a variety of formats. She has given workshops and seminars all over the U.S., including verbal self-defense sessions for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. Dr. Elgin has also created a self-defense tape and a training manual for people who teach her self-defense techniques.

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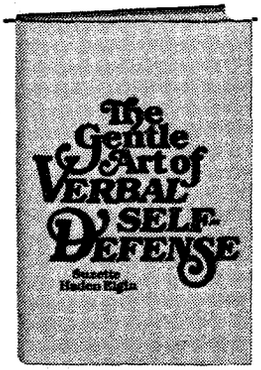

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even in "The Raven" there's an error. And what will a child make of "These men of battle," and a horse whose *name* blows free? Love of language includes getting the words right.

For this, however, as well as for a collection that feeds the sense of wonder, the reading parent will have to look elsewhere. Ask the bookstore to order Seamus Heaney and Ted Hughes's 1982 anthology *The Rattle Bag* (Faber & Faber). Because it matters. Adolescents who encounter poetry as a subject for study encounter the cart before the horse; they may never get to the horse at all. We have to start much, much earlier, much more naturally, more intimately, so that our children discover, first, that there *is* a horse, and then that it has wings. □

Right From Wrong

CAROL TAVRIS

BRINGING UP A MORAL CHILD. *By Michael Schulman and Eva Mekler. Addison Wesley. 362 pp. $12.95.*

What is morality in any given time or place? It is what the majority then and there happen to like, and immorality is what they dislike.

—Alfred North Whitehead

The American majority, here and now, likes many practices once thought immoral. Winning at any cost is the common goal, even when the cost is cheating, bribery, lies and the health of workers and athletes. Moral standards are for wimps and saps. After Tulane's basketball team was found guilty of shaving points, a student there, reflecting the moral soul of the nation and the clichés of its moral reasoning, told a reporter, "Everybody does it. Our only mistake was to get caught." Immorality, like aggression, is a bully. If bullies get results without getting caught, their methods become contagious. "When E.F. Hutton talks," says the Conrad cartoon, "General Electric listens."

The widespread abdication of moral standards in business, politics and sports has produced two reactions among the public in general and among parents in particular. One is an increased authoritarianism, which emphasizes moral absolutism, moral standards based on external rules and harsh punishment of moral offenders. (Poor offenders, that is. How pleasing it would be to see the officers of E.F. Hutton in a Toughlove program!) The authoritarian contingent may be further divided into those who were born punitive and those who, repudiating the sins of liberal tolerance, are born-again disciplinarians.

The other reaction is permissiveness, which emphasizes moral relativism, moral standards based on personal judgment, and empathy with moral offenders. This contingent may be further divided into those who are permissive as a matter of principle and those who are permissive by default.

We hear many reasons for permissiveness both by principle and by default. "Leave children alone," some believe, "and they will learn right and wrong on their own." This lesson is always thought to occur at some future stage of development. "He's only a child now," it is said. "He'll learn to be nicer when he gets older." Some confuse sympathy with rationalization: "Her parents are going through a divorce. She'll stop being so selfish when she feels better." Some, for fear of being called authoritarian, resist the idea of any punishment altogether: "He only stole a few cheap things. No reason to punish him for it. Besides, making him admit his theft would only humiliate him and leave emotional scars." Finally, some despair of teaching a child to be moral in an immoral time: "What can I do, anyhow?" they say, or "It's a dog-eat-dog world out there. She might as well learn the rules now."

Into this polarized, muddy and emotional discussion Michael Schulman and Eva Mekler insert some clearheaded, wise and empirically sound ideas for bringing up moral children "who want to treat others well, who are genuinely concerned about other people's feelings, and who choose to do good even when they can get away with doing bad." The authors dislike both the authoritarian raising of obedient, docile children (who will cheat if they can get away with it) and the laissez-faire raising of rebellious, selfish children (who will cheat if it suits their purposes). Although the book is directed to parents, it has a more general significance, for it contains a brilliant analysis of theories of moral development and where they have gone awry.

The dominant schools of psychology typically isolate pieces of the moral puzzle. Psychoanalysts tend to emphasize moral emotions like guilt and shame. Cognitive psychologists, notably Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg, examine moral reasoning. Sociobiologists consider the relevant "instincts," such as aggression and altruism. Behaviorists study the reinforcements for moral or immoral behavior. Schulman and Mekler argue that these piecemeal theories, apart from being incomplete and inaccurate, have inadvertently contributed to the erosion of moral standards and moral behavior in America.

As the authors observe, Freud thought a child's moral sense appeared magically at the resolution of the Oedipus complex and that any tampering with the child's early impulses might unduly affect that resolution and produce a neurotic child. For Piaget and Kohlberg, moral understanding develops in a series of fixed and invariant stages. Parents should not interfere in the child's "natural" ascent up the hierarchy; it won't do any good anyway. (Exasperated with American psychologists' perennial concern about whether a child's intellectual progress could be speeded up, Piaget called this issue the "American question.") According to the authors, other social sciences have undermined the idea of individual responsibility by attributing a person's harmful actions to social forces (poverty), psychological excuses (stress) or biological inevitability (aggressive instincts). We no longer accept "the Devil made me do it" as an excuse for theft or cruelty, but we accept "my mother (or my genes) made me do it," with sympathy or sighs for the human condition.

In the first part of the book, Schulman and Mekler pose their theory of moral development, one that unifies emotions, reasoning and behavior. By integrating research from across the social sciences and drawing on many case studies, they demonstrate that morality can and should be taught and that cooperation and moral behavior are as much a part of our species' equip-

Carol Tavris is a social psychologist. Her latest book is Anger: The Misunderstood Emotion *(Simon & Schuster/Touchstone).*

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ment as selfishness and aggression. They argue that there are three "foundation stones" of moral learning: the internalization of parental standards, the development of empathy, and the formation of personal standards of right and wrong.

In the second part, the authors consider the "forces that compete with morality," such as jealousy, fear, hatred, aggression and prejudice. In the final section, they discuss moral development, from birth to adolescence, not as a series of intrapsychic stages but as a set of concerns that change with age, experience and situation. Schulman and Mekler take on, among other matters, toys, television, fair play, sibling rivalry, lies, social responsibilities, group pressure, drugs, money and, ultimately, the problem of maintaining moral standards in a society that rewards greed and aggression.

Schulman and Mekler make a point of saying that their approach is not politically or religiously based, that it is designed to show parents how to teach moral values rather than what values to teach. Perhaps they make this coy demurral in hopes of reaching and subverting Falwellian readers. In fact, their book is a subversive treatise whose goals would stick in many right-wing throats. To Reagan's sanctimonious assertion that religion is the nation's only source of morality, Schulman and Mekler reply that religion, which can inspire moral acts, fosters immorality when it encourages intolerance and totalitarian values. To traditionalists who claim that sexual behavior is the moral issue of our time, Schulman and Mekler reply that sex is not a moral issue at all but a social convention. (Morality, they maintain, has to do with the justice and kindness of one's intentions and actions; conventional standards have to do with constantly changing social rules about propriety.) Finally, to disciplinarians who equate moral behavior with obedience to authority, Schulman and Mekler propose to teach children how to say no to immoral authorities, how to think for themselves instead of becoming mindless patriots.

For centuries, experts in child development have bowed to the prevailing winds, their recommendations swaying to and fro. Be punitive, be praiseful; be remote, be doting; be strict, be permissive. We are coming out of a "permissive era," and if people fail to

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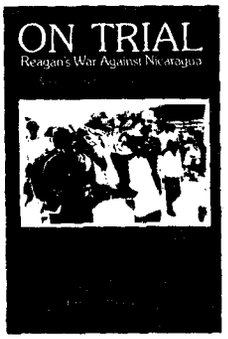

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understand where permissiveness went wrong, they are liable to fall prey to the excesses of authoritarianism. Neither extreme creates truly moral children or a moral society, as Schulman and Mekler explain. That is why I am sorry that they address their book primarily to parents, for it needs to reach educators, therapists, social workers and anyone else who deals with children of any age. For that matter, because their research and practical guidelines apply to many other domains of modern life, I hope that Schulman and Mekler will write a sequel, *Becoming a Moral Society.* □

Tempest in a Test Tube

TABITHA POWLEDGE

MAKING BABIES: The New Science and Ethics of Conception. *By Peter Singer and Deane Wells. Charles Scribner's Sons. 256 pp. $14.95.*

Australia has been a pioneer in moving human reproduction out of the bedroom and into the laboratory. It cannot claim the world's first test-tube baby. That honor—if honor it is—belongs to England, the mother country. But Australia was in there trying and has since amassed its own set of firsts. It was first, in 1983, with a baby born from a donated embryo, thereby originating adoption of a fertilized egg. And it was first, in 1984, with a baby born from a frozen embryo. Popsicle parturition.

Australians Peter Singer and Deane Wells have been keeping their eyes on test-tube babies. Singer is a professor of philosophy at Monash University. He is also a bioethicist, a term that describes the small group of academics who have specialized in the social/moral implications of recent work in the biological sciences. Wells is a member of the Australian Parliament; bioethical issues often affect government policy.

The two explore today's developments and tomorrow's possibilities, make judgments about the right and wrong of things, and propose procedures for dealing with the issues arising from scientific control of reproduction. They have turned out a short, ambitious, uneven book.

What are test-tube babies, anyway? They are babies that have been conceived by bringing egg and sperm together in the laboratory—in a petri dish, actually, not a test tube. Shortly after a successful in vitro (literally "in glass") fertilization, doctors transfer the embryo to a woman's womb and gestation proceeds in the usual way.

Several hundred babies have come into being thanks to in vitro fertilization (I.V.F.). Almost all the children of couples unable to conceive because the woman's Fallopian tubes are blocked are the products of I.V.F. With semen obtained by masturbation and eggs obtained directly from the ovary through abdominal surgery, scientists can produce a human embryo. They cannot sustain the embryo, but sometimes a woman's uterus can. As one of I.V.F.'s early developers has explained, the technique is a kind of helicopter, useful for crossing the river when the bridge is out.

Part of the furor that attended I.V.F. research in the 1970s stemmed from uncertainty over its safety. Now, with hundreds of successes under their belts, as it were, scientists seem confident that the technique results in healthy, normal infants. The procedure is not much fun for the prospective mother, however, and the success rate is low—between 15 percent and 25 percent. But there are plenty of women with damaged tubes who are burning to be mothers—more than 700,000 in this country alone, according to one estimate. That figure will likely increase since one price of our sexual freedom is an array of venereal diseases that leave behind, among other mementos, scarred and impassable Fallopian tubes.

Public opinion polls show that most people approve of helping couples have babies with I.V.F. Those who don't usually argue that it is unnatural. Singer and Wells do a remarkable job disposing of this argument. They give readers a taste of Mill and a short course in natural law, slyly pointing out that if Catholic theologians held strictly to their own pronatalist logic, they would embrace I.V.F. These few pages offer a clear, jargon-free model of how to present philosophical arguments to a general audience.

Tabitha Powledge is a writer and editor specializing in science and science policy.

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But Singer and Wells can also be infuriating. At the same time that they quite correctly point out that public opinion is irrelevant to decisions about the morality of I.V.F., they nevertheless cite opinion polls as part of their arguments—and even supply an Australian poll as an appendix to their text.

The book has its insidious side as well. It pretends in part to be a disinterested, dispassionate examination of I.V.F., although it is actually promulgating a strong utilitarian point of view. Despite its stated enthusiasm for democratic structures and procedures to govern the use of technology, it all but ignores the issues of justice and equality which I.V.F. raises.

Thus Singer and Wells have little fault to find with most uses of I.V.F. Even the expense (somewhere between $9,000 and $18,000 per child produced) doesn't bother them much. In Australia, part of the cost is borne by government-subsidized health insurance. In the United States, both the government and private insurers have steered clear of such a controversial use of their funds. Americans hoping for test-tube babies must be willing to spend their own money for access to the privately operated technology. The infertile poor must find their families elsewhere. And to those who argue that manufacturing babies for an over-populated world is ridiculous, the authors are content to point out that many medical expenditures are irrational. They assign I.V.F. a priority somewhere below kidney dialysis but ahead of fanny lifts and hair transplants.

The book is structured to proceed from the simplest I.V.F. case (a married couple eager for a child of their own) to other possibilities (donated embryos, surrogate motherhood) technically possible today. Singer and Wells then move on to what they think might be future uses of I.V.F. These include *real* test-tube babies, created and wholly sustained in a laboratory. They also include cloning, selecting embryos by sex, and genetic engineering.

After examining the moral objections others have raised to such varieties of baby-making, the authors dismiss them. They are, for example, not worried about the morality of experimenting on an embryo because, they argue, until it develops a brain or nervous system (sometime after the sixth week of gestation), it is simply a thing. This is doubtless Singer speaking. He has made a similar argument about animal liberation and vegetarianism, positing neurological criteria for "humane" treatment that would have us refrain from dining on anything higher up the evolutionary scale than oysters.

While the book dispenses with most of the moral arguments over I.V.F., it is especially concerned with social structures we might erect to assure that I.V.F. will be used in an orderly and inoffensive way; the authorial hand of legislator Wells may be visible here. For example, they do not see that transferring an embryo to a surrogate mother who is then supposed to return it to its "parents" nine months later raises any serious issues except procedural ones. They propose that surrogates should volunteer rather than be paid, that privately arranged surrogacy should be illegal, that surrogacy be placed in the hands of a state surrogacy board that would screen potential surrogates and adoptive couples. "In this area," they declare, "piecemeal social engineering is the way to make progress." That is the book's real theme.

Singer and Wells also display a faith in the march of technology remarkable for people who have witnessed the snafus of the past few decades. The monumental complexities of pregnancy notwithstanding, they expect the artificial womb to be possible before long, and that's fine with them. It might make abortions obsolete—just pop an unwanted fetus into the device and put it up for adoption.

They also think the artificial womb will make feminists happy. To prove their point, they trot out Shulamith Firestone, whose book *The Dialectic of Sex* they label—I *think* this is intentional—"one of the seminal works of the modern feminist movement." Writing in the late 1960s, when we believed in technological fixes for social inequalities, Firestone called for the artificial womb in order to free "women from the tyranny of their reproductive biology." Whatever happened to Shulamith Firestone? Why do commentators on artificial reproduction invariably assume that hers is *the* feminist position on having babies? Most women know all too well that the real tyranny of reproductive biology takes place not in the first nine months but in the following twenty years.

Singer and Wells take their strongest ethical stance in this section, in the process making clear that the neurological

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criteria they espouse will not really settle the moral status of the fetus after all. They find repellent the notion that fetuses might be grown in the laboratory in order to provide spare parts, even if the fetuses were brain-damaged so as to experience no consciousness or pain. The authors concede that, if they truly believe a nonsentient fetus is a thing, there is no logical reason for their horror. But still they bow to their instinctive feelings of revulsion—the type of argument-from-the-viscera that they firmly reject elsewhere in the book.

The book's weakest section—on cloning and sex choice—also exhibits a surprising credulity about what technology can accomplish. Attempts to clone animals have been much less successful than Singer and Wells imply, and human cloning is very far off indeed. Yet their discussion of the ethical ins and outs of the matter is exhaustive. When scientists are able to clone people—possibly sometime in the next century—societies coping with the issue may find that Singer and Wells have cleared away some of the brush. But for the moment, the authors spend a lot of time providing solutions to problems we don't have.

The discussion of cloning goes on for almost fifteen pages, while that about sex choice takes up less than five, despite the fact that prospective parents are already employing a handful of techniques for achieving the boy or (infrequently) the girl of their dreams. These include separating sperm before artificial insemination so as to increase the chances of conceiving a boy and prenatal diagnostic techniques that make possible abortion of the "wrong" sex. And time-honored female infanticide is reportedly making a comeback in China, where the new one-child rule drives some couples to murderous extremes.

Since sex choice is one of the few real-world topics in *Making Babies*, the authors' once-over-lightly discussion of the matter is inadequate and disappointing. It focuses almost exclusively on the possible social consequences—all completely hypothetical—of a preponderance of males. Singer and Wells do not explore whether there are moral differences between sex choice methods that require abortion and those that do not. They do not discuss feminist analyses of sex choice, although their source notes show they are aware of some of that literature. They do not examine the morality of choosing one sex over the other.

The discussion of genetic engineering, although brief, does touch on most of the important issues. But it does so by drawing heavily on work by previous commentators. The authors' structural proposal for supervising human genetic engineering when it becomes available is confused. While declaring firmly that such decisions ought to be in the hands of parents, as usual they want to set up a government committee with the right of veto.

It is a mystery why Singer and Wells appear unable to see that the committee's veto power effectively removes the decision from the parents, where the authors say it ought to be. Why do they not notice that such proposals invariably set people to worrying about whether reproductive technologies aren't yet another step toward *Brave New World*? (On this topic they are quite sensible, pointing out that reproductive technologies have arisen and are in use in democratic societies, not totalitarian ones, and that governments have simpler, cheaper methods of imposing thought control on their populations than artificial reproduction. They might also have noted that Huxley himself said the state-directed reproduction he described in his novel was a consequence, not a cause, of totalitarian rule.)

Having repeatedly encountered calls for committees to dole out these reproductive technologies throughout *Making Babies*, the reader is unsurprised to be told in its final pages that each country needs a megacommittee. National bioethics commissions are proposed to provide permanent oversight of these technologies, anticipate new ones, and make recommendations about their use.

This is actually not a bad idea, depending on the commissions' makeup and their power. But Singer and Wells think democracies can be best served by commissions of "experts," by which they mean bioethicists. They acknowledge piously that "expertise in ethics is open to any reasonably intelligent people who are prepared to put some time into gaining it." But in practice almost all those who toil at the bioethics trade hold doctorates, usually in philosophy or law. Despite its novelty, bioethics is as devoted to gatekeeping as any other academic specialty. Their proposal seems a little self-serving, and not particularly democratic. □

ART.

ARTHUR C. DANTO

Works on Paper

I am uncertain of just when in the recent past the expression "works on paper" entered the art world's lexicon, but my sense is that it was initially a dealer's term, intended to segregate a wide and heterogeneous class of artworks from paintings proper. The new term then underwrote the practice of charging higher prices for works done on canvas, panel or any support less paradigmatically fragile than paper. As a material, paper connotes cheapness, disposability, ephemerality: it is what we employ, as Kurt Schwitters appreciated so profoundly, for things meant to be used and thrown away. *The New York Times*, for example, is referred to as the paper, but despite its reputation and authority, no one hesitates to use it for starting fires, wrapping garbage or training puppies. And perhaps these connotations carry over into art: with canvas or gesso panels, let alone actual walls, there is a presumption of permanence which goes with a prejudice for eternity that has become associated with art since Platonic times. So an artist must be supposed to have serious motivations indeed when she or he commits an image to these seemingly more enduring surfaces. If it is to be a joy forever, a thing of beauty is not to be placed on surfaces of metaphorical mortality, even granting that the ancient soil of Greece is dense with shards of shattered urns.

For just these reasons, perhaps, work being on paper licenses a certain experimentalism, a recklessness, audacity, even a certain frivolity, as though it does not ultimately matter what one does, since it is supposed not to last. So the genre of works on paper began to take on a life of its own, and paper became the favored substance for artists in their more playful and intimate moods. Ours is not the first time in the history of art that perishability has accompanied experiment. In the eighteenth century, the fireworks display gave free rein to architects, who used the occasion to work out ideas that were too chancy to commit to masonry or that might as well be extravagant, since they were destined to go up in smoke

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and dazzle. Today something like this is true of beach houses in the Hamptons, where the immanence of hurricanes and uncontrolled seas transform the fragile coastlines into an architectural laboratory. It is this antic holiday spirit, then, that marks the true work on paper, a certain openness and looseness to which paper liberates us.

It would be wrong, however, to designate certain artworks as works on paper, even though they are indeed works and are in fact on paper, like the scrolls of China or the screens of Japan. In part this is due to the fact that anything might have been a metaphor for ephemerality in those cultures which set no particular premium on inalterability in their philosophies. To be sure it could be argued that the fact that they used paper so widely in their art was itself an expression of their metaphysical celebration of the fleetingness of things. But in these Oriental cultures paper was appreciated for its beauty and paper workers appreciated for their skill in regimenting so fragile, so naturally insubordinate a stuff. Nor would we designate as works on paper etchings and lithographs, though literally this is what they are, because the mediation of considerable technical prowess fits awkwardly with the spontaneousness insinuated by the new term.

There *is* an inclination to use works on paper as a trendy synonym for "drawings," but apart from the fact that drawing is done on a wide variety of surfaces—sidewalks, the walls of caves, as well as on panels and stretched canvas, our emblems of eternity—it would be quite improper to speak of the drawings of the old masters as works on paper, even if as a matter of artistic psychology the circumstances of being done on paper had a liberating effect.

Consider the drawings of Théodore Géricault, recently exhibited at the Morgan Library in New York City. Many were sketches and studies, to which paper lends itself by its nature, but Géricault's manner of address is too serious to fit consistently with the connotations I am seeking to identify. Many of them were preparatory sketches for "The Raft of the Medusa," a work which condenses so much human agony, caused by unleashed nature and the cruel indifference of those in power, that the tragedy of his concept transfers to the studies. Moreover, Géricault drew the things he took most seriously in life—horses, battle, death and sex—and sought through his drawings to work out the internal contradictions of style that made his own artistic personality so difficult and that defined the polarities of nineteenth-century art in France. The nobleness and intensity of artistic purpose stifle the qualities about paper that give rise to the animation and caprice of work on paper. These very qualities, the ones which make paper the appropriate material for parties and celebrations, make work on paper so central to the contemporary spirit and lead one to speculate whether painting itself implies values that belong to another, more solid, period of art. Works on paper exactly suit an art world defined by perishability and fashion.

It was inevitable, then, that the actual presence of paper should finally become so marginal to the concept of works on paper that an exhibition of them, New Work on Paper 3, on view at the Museum of Modern Art until September 3, should consist of work on materials quite other than paper: aluminum sheets, fiberglass and in one instance a kind of scrim. This might not matter greatly if all the works were drawings and the synonym held, but in fact they are not. Robert Morris's work on fiberglass looks like a mold of some shallow pit taken for archeological or forensic purposes, since it shows human bones among the oddments. One work, by James Rosenquist, is distinctively a paperwork, like a nonfolded origami, but there is no work on the paper itself to justify the name. And the cautious, elegant modifications of metal sheets by the minimalist Robert Ryman could as easily and perhaps more accurately be thought of as painting rather than drawing. Since neither drawing nor having been done on, as opposed to with, paper is essential to the definition of "works on paper," it is clear that we are dealing with a novel genre of art, one whose criteria remain to be worked out. The term itself therefore should be used with implied quotation marks.

The show exemplifies the adventuresome indefinition of its contents, as does the curiously suitable catalogue, which announces "Works on Paper" on its *plastic* cover and then proceeds to subvert the ordinary purpose of catalogues by reproducing and describing *none* of the works shown. In candor, it is difficult to determine what is being described in the so-called narrative portion of the text, which attempts to dis-

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cuss mimesis by imitating prose. The author, Bernice Rose, achieves a singular autonomy of art writing (to use a term I believe coined by David Carrier)—a dense curtain of typography through which we can darkly intuit a possible meaning, much as we are able to make out some words through the opaque plastic of the cover. As a work on paper in its own right, a *part* of the show rather than standing outside it, the book is sufficiently unhelpful to qualify as a work of art. The one useful piece of information it gives is that none of the works exhibited were done when the book went to press, which shows that the curator took the same sort of chances that works on paper are supposed to take, hoping for the best. Meanwhile Rose assures us, by listing the pedigrees of the invited artists—their educations, one-person shows, important group shows—that it was not a completely aleatory enterprise, even if the catalogue was written and sent off before there was a single work to ponder. And, as sometimes happens when great risks are run, the show is an experimental success.

The catalogue does contain, by happy accident, a sketch for the paperwork by Rosenquist referred to earlier: a kind of disk, with an elegantly deckled circumference. It is suspended by threads from the ceiling and hangs, or rather floats, parallel to the floor. Called "Table," it defies the customary uses of tables. But so do pictures of tables defy these purposes, unless we use the canvas they are painted on as tables, and I thought this work a witty comment on the boundaries between art and utility.

I was also struck by the virginal whiteness of the paper, and speculated on the problems of preservation it must present: How was it to be kept free from dust and humidity? The catalogue sketch is accompanied by the inscription "paper disk or table to collect dust," and I suddenly realized that the act of preservation would be contrary to the spirit of the work, intended to accumulate dog hairs and fly drippings, dust and flying ash, meanwhile buckling under the onslaught of gravity and damp, until it achieves the end state for which it was intended—a domestic eyesore, imposing on its owner a conflict as to whether to preserve it as art or cooperate in its destiny by throwing it out as, after all, a piece of soiled paper, like a Kleenex or a Pamper. It is a kind of performance, incorporating as part of its meaning the forces that would threaten it were it to defy them instead.

Rosenquist's more conventional entries are displays in virtuosity, deeper of course than demonstrations of artificial marbling but seriously illusionistic in that they look as though a drawing had been torn into shreds and pasted over another drawing, visible between the shreds. The illusion consists in the fact that it is all one drawing with a certain internal discontinuity: one is able to pay attention to only one of the drawn images at a time, either the overlaid or the overlaying one, as in a classical optical illusion. But whether there is an internal reference between the mutually disrupting images and what the iconographic total comes to belongs to a review of Rosenquist rather than here.

And so with what I would want to say about the work of Robert Ryman, apart from the observation that his work is anti-illusionistic by direct antithesis to Rosenquist's. The presence of Ryman's hand is detected only along the edges of the pieces, making those edges real and, by that same gesture, making real the shiny surfaces of the metal sheets he works with. Any mark he made on the sheets would have to have been on the surface rather than in an illusory pictorial space, and the restraint he demonstrates in not touching the surfaces induces a conceptual tension within the works. So does the fact that all the connotations of works on paper are present through negation. Whether they would be present were the works hung in a show of their own is a nice question, and if, as I think, the answer is no, that shows something about what an exhibition can contribute to its constituent pieces.

The work I most admired consisted of some very large and very heavily worked sheets of unframed paper, on which Pat Steir conveys, with an intense and athletic energy, the feeling of immense waves of the sort that threaten the beaches of Westhampton. The drawings refer explicitly to famous works by Hokusai and Courbet, though those artists' waves are, respectively, breakers and rollers, and Steir's drawings seem closer to the latter, consisting of circular movements of pencil and crayon, repeated and repeated until a sort of dense helix is scribbled across the distressed paper. On the upper edge of each she has lettered in, loosely, the line from Rilke's *Duino*

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Elegies, "Beauty is nothing but the beginning of terror." The adjunction of these words to those images restored for me what I realized had been a lost dimension of the great Japanese print "The Great Wave Off Kanagawa." That is one of those pictures standardly used to illustrate eye movements and formal relationships, as though it were an abstract pattern of reciprocating curves. Formalist analysis, as usual, blanks out content, and in looking again at that marvelous woodcut I saw how much terror must begin with the beauty of the breaking wave, how nearly as anguishing as being exposed on the raft of the Medusa it must have been to be in those podlike boats in the awesome trough, Mount Fuji all the while standing tranquil and quiescent in the distance. I think some of this affect is present in Steir's works, which alone justifies a visit to the show.

Bruce Nauman's work is merely turgid: one recognizes from it how much the properties of neon tubing, luminous and linear, contribute to the work in words, his trademark product. And Robert Wilson's pallid doodles require more energy to describe than they possibly could have cost to inscribe, though their limp and skimpy character might enhance by their weakness the diaphaneity of the scrim that sustains them when, as in the pretentiously darkened room they are shown in, it is lit from behind. Robert Morris's "Blind Time" drawings, executed while blindfolded and with both hands, inspire speculation about vision and proprioception too philosophical for inclusion here. But they incapsulate, as we learn from the appended legends describing the exact circumstances of their execution, precisely that openness to risk that belongs to this brash genre of contemporary expression.

Bernice Rose took just such risks in putting the show together, but next time she should leave the writing to some of the clever hands in the department of public relations. Now that genres are up for invention, I look forward to the first show at MOMA of work-in-wood, with its giddy confections of aluminum, hemp, feather, leather, plasticine, rubber and, of course, paper. □

In the Next Issue: Leo Marx discusses one hundred years of controversy over Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*.

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ISSUES AND PROGRAM STAFF positions available with the New York Public Interest Research Group, Inc. (NYPIRG). Organizing and research positions focus on tax reform, energy/utilities, toxic waste, divestment, consumer protection and women's issues. NYPIRG is New York State's largest citizen-action organization with 25 offices around the state. Advanced degree or public interest experience required. Salary negotiable with full health benefits. Positions available this fall. Send resume to A. Poe, c/o NYPIRG, 9 Murray Street, 3rd floor, New York, NY 10007.

PROGRAM COORDINATOR. National coalition of 55 religious, peace, and social action organizations seeks Human Rights Program Coordinator to organize and facilitate national grassroots and Capitol Hill strategies on human rights issues, with special emphasis on U.S.—Central America policy. Experience in local organizing essential; congressional work desirable. Send resume, cover letter, and writing sample to: Cynthia Washington, (N) Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 712 G Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003. No phone calls. Deadline: September 27.

NICARAGUA MEDICAL AND MATERIAL AID CAMPAIGN (NICMAC) seeks full-time staff person. Fundraising experience preferred. Salary and hours negotiable. Women and minority applicants encouraged. Send resume to: NICMAC, 1239 Broadway, Room 802, New York, NY 10001.

"NICA": ESTELI, NICARAGUA

School for North Americans seeks experienced bilingual organizer/activist to help coordinate program activities in Nicaragua. Send resume to NICA, Box 1409, Cambridge, MA 02238. (617) 497-7142.

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STUDENT ORGANIZER. Campus organizing experience required.

Both positions: $750 per month, health and vacation benefits. Application deadline: September 1. Third World applicants especially encouraged to apply. Resume to: CISPES, Box 50139N, Washington, DC 20004. (202) 887-5019.

OFFICE MANAGER. Two-person office of progressive Jewish monthly. Good cause; good company. Call Morris U. Schappes, Jewish Currents, 22 E. 17th Street, New York, NY 10003. (212) 924-5740.

BOSTON MOBILIZATION FOR SURVIVAL, a peace and social justice organization, seeks full-time staff person to begin October 1. Must be strong feminist with commitment to developing membership skills. Interest in and commitment to working on Mideast issues necessary. Previous organizing experience essential; fundraising experience helpful. Salary $12,000 per year. Resume and writing sample by September 1 to: MFS, 11 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

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BLACK STAR: Current issue features Noam Chomsky on Vietnam. Sample copy $2. Box 3506, Tucson, AZ 85722.

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SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2065

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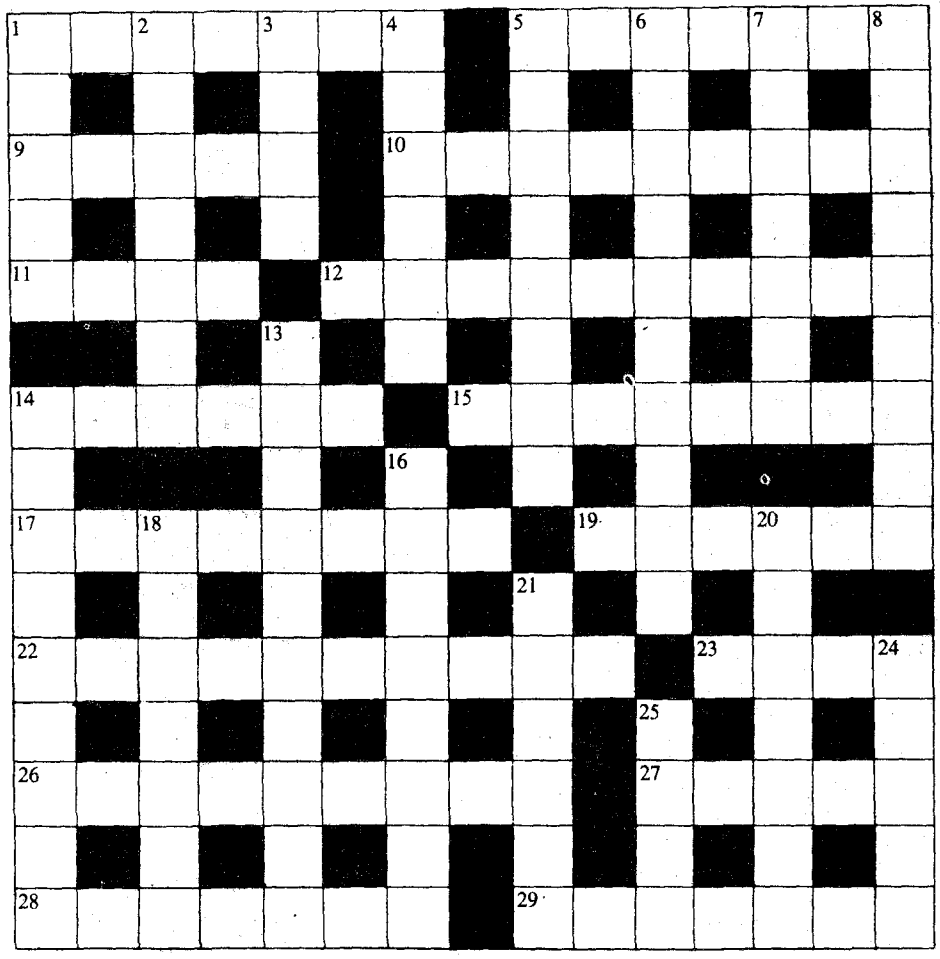
T	H	E	■	C	R	A	B	■	K	I	N	D	R	E	D
S	■	D	■	O	■	O	■	A	■	O	■	R	■	C	■
O	R	G	A	N	O	N	■	N	I	T	R	A	T	E	■
N	■	E	■	T	■	I	■	G	■	E	■	G	■	D	■
■	■	S	C	O	T	C	H	A	N	D	S	O	D	A	■
U	■	■	■	■	■	P	■	R	■	■	■	■	■	R	■
N	E	U	T	R	A	L	C	O	R	N	E	R	■	■	■
D	■	S	■	A	■	A	■	O	■	E	■	E	■	A	■
E	L	U	D	I	N	G	■	C	O	S	T	A	R	D	■
R	■	R	■	L	■	U	■	O	■	T	■	L	■	A	■
D	E	P	R	I	V	E	■	U	N	I	T	I	N	G	■
O	■	E	■	N	■	■	■	R	■	N	■	Z	■	E	■
G	A	R	A	G	E	■	S	T	A	G	G	E	R	S	■

Crossword Puzzle No. 2066

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 22
5 With muscle sort of died—a bad lot at heart! (7)
9 Marsh might be—the bassoon is doubly so. (5)
10 Ties might have them, but that's what they do with the donkey, just for fun, or the doll if vindictive. (9)
11 Usually on your left when certain hands are examined—but you might make a stew out of it. (4)
12 Does it involve comparisons with Mechlin, or just mangling? (10)
14 Don't stand outside! What a singular piece of apparel it used to be! (4-2)
15 Feed out a bad, bad spell in Spanish! You wouldn't believe when you were subjected to it! (4,2,2)
17 The opposite of a fool's paradise? There might be a summary in it, as they say. (8)
19 Some philologists say it's an alteration of a calker's meeting. (6)
22, 23, 6 down and 1 across Slight reason for madness on her part, no doubt! (4,4,2, 4,4,1,5,7)
26 Shaky way of getting tours, in a way, with a balky mule. (9)
27 Where Walter was asked to lead someone? (5)
28 Safe examples, of a sort, with a sack set so. (7)
29 Sounds like rests, with intimidation. (7)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

DOWN

1 Those pesky little things on your fingers come up like stalks of grain, in a certain condition. (5)
2 The position of the Bishop might be to supervise! (7)
3 Sounds like a horse sounds? One doesn't agree with them! (4)
4 Part of Methodism, a young-appearing way to daunt. (6)
5 Lofts the ball from the tee? That's what the visitor does sometimes! (6,2)
6 See 22 across
7 Aperture—it's otherwise if diamonds, as they say. (7)
8 An indication of animals about? (They really make things like jeans!) (9)
13 Not heavy construction, but there's homework in keeping with it! (Ray comes from here to make some people feel safe.) (10)
14 Not a real tin scythe, obviously. (9)
16 They might carry a striking force. (Adobes have them.) (4-4)
18 Certainly not exemplified by daisies! (You'll find them in banks . . .) (7)
20 . . . perhaps behind this. (7)
21 See 25
24 Scotland is connected with a famous example of such—but they cover a comparatively short distance. (5)
25 and 21 Equivalent to stop, look and listen when no audition is required. Just be patient! (4,3,3)

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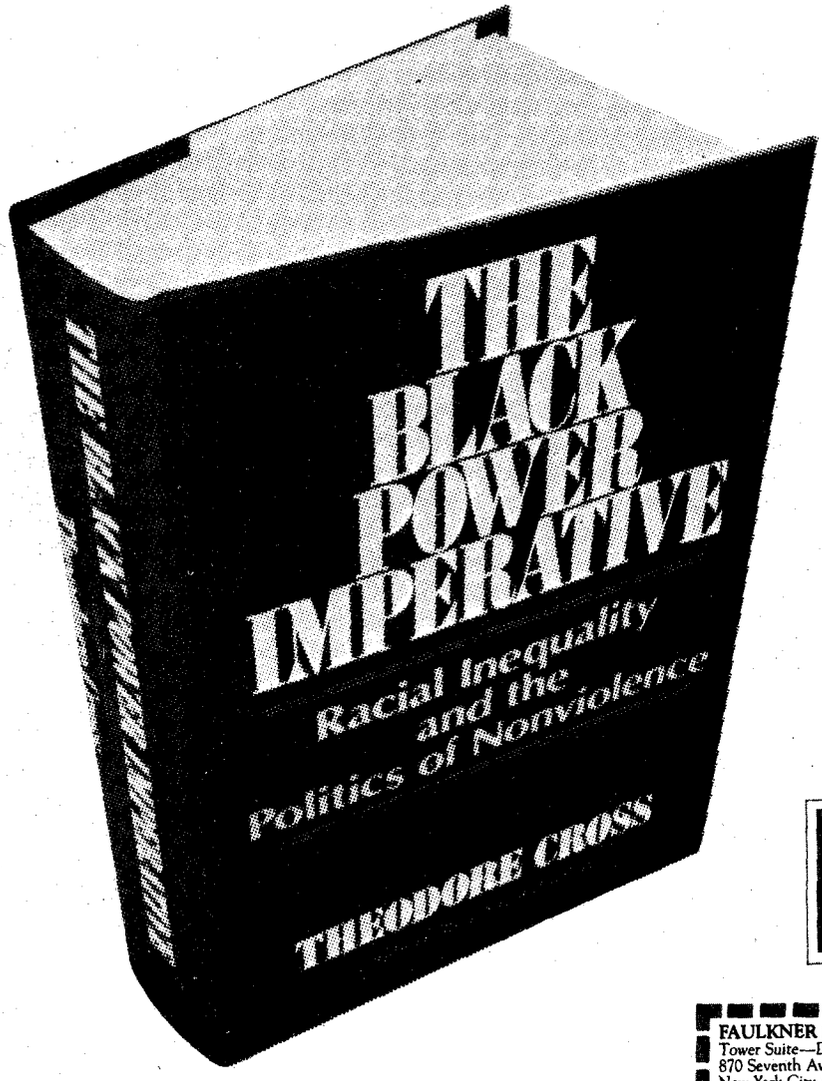

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